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## ABSTRACT

This guide presents background material to acquaint elementary social studies teachers with the cultural systems of the Arunta and Kazak tribes and the more technologically sophisticated American way of life. It is part of the Anthropology Curriculum Project and is designed to be used in conjunction with curriculum guides for grades 1 and 4 (SO 011 790-795). This booklet is organized into three sections which describe each system in terms of cultural universals including housing, clothing, tools, transportation, communication, ways of earning a living, social organization in the home and community, and religion. It defines each universal, describes its functions, and examines the factors governing choices made by each culture. Section I describes the American way of life, its technological sophistication and variety, its money-based economy, nuclear family structure, and need for elected community leaders. Section II examines the Australian aboriginal Arunta tribe, focusing on its very simple economic systems and social organization. Section III explores the sheep herding Kazaks, a southern Russian tribe whose culture is more sophisticated than the Arunta but much less so than the American. The text emphasizes anthropological concepts and terms throughout, delineating their meanings and uses, and calling attention to their importance by underlining them. A bibliography concludes each section of text. (CK)

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THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE  
TEACHER'S BACKGROUND MATERIAL FOR

THE AMERICAN  
THE ARUNTA  
THE KAZAK

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GRADE ONE AND GRADE FOUR

Publications No. 3, 4, and 5

Anthropology Curriculum Project  
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The Anthropology Project at the University of Georgia is a cooperative project involving anthropologists from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and a variety of specialists from the College of Education.

All members of the staff cooperate in the various phases of material development. Primary responsibility for material development is distributed as follows: anthropological concepts and teacher background material, anthropology; pupil text based on the teacher essays, project coordinator; art supervision, media specialist; teacher and pupil guides, elementary social studies specialist; test construction and validation, educational psychology, critical review, philosophy. Staff associates are assisted in their work by graduate research assistants.

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THE AMERICAN  
(Background Material for Teachers)

Grade One  
Concept of Culture

Publication No. 3

Anthropology Curriculum Project  
Athens: University of Georgia  
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## II. ECONOMICS: HOUSING AND HOUSE TYPES

### Introduction

Housing is a cultural universal, that is, it is a trait of all cultures. Variations in housing range from cave to palace, from wind-break to high rise apartment. The anthropologist usually distinguishes housing variations, whether arising from use of materials, methods of construction, or design, as simply variations in house types. Some housing types are: natural cave, artificial cave, lean-to, windbreak, tent, hut, one room house, terrace house, courtyard house, multi-room house, and multi-storied house.

There are a number of reasons why houses vary in type: climate, building resources, building technology, primary economic activity, and cultural preference. Housing types generally reflect conditions of the physical environment, both with respect to climate and resources, but they are not deterministic. In the United States, a frequent example of differences in indigenous housing types in the same physical environment is the adobe communal terrace structure (pueblo) of the Hopi and the isolated single room log and earth structure (hogan) of the Navaho.

Cultural preference is exemplified by the log house introduced by Swedish settlers and adapted by American colonists as they moved westward. The original English settlers, however, did not build log houses but utilized Indian house types until they could build the brick or plank houses to which they were accustomed. And because of the dominance of English settlers along the seaboard, the same English house styles are found in Georgia, Virginia, and New England.

### Functions of Housing

The primary function of housing is to facilitate man's physical survival by affording him shelter from the weather and protection from intruders, both animal and human. The building technology may also permit protection from insects. Housing lessened man's need for biological adaptations to his environment and at the same time extended the range of physical environments in which he could survive.

While shelter is the basic function of housing, housing also provides privacy, comfort, aesthetic satisfaction, a mark of status, and a base for household operations, both productive and consumptive, in a definite location. The element of social privacy, important

to American and European families, is not stressed to the same extent by all groups, and the degree of comfort provided is dependent upon the general level of technology. The comfort and privacy provided by an Arunta lean-to is in striking contrast to the felt tent of the Kazak, and the modern American house, with central heating, summer air conditioning, plumbing, and other amenities is in striking contrast to the other two. In fact, the comfort and status functions of the American house exceed, at least in importance, the function of shelter, which is simply taken for granted.

The functions of the modern American house are as extensive as the gamut of living: it is the place where some particular people have a determinant location in which they cook, eat, sleep, wash and iron clothes, rear children, care for the sick, visit with friends, or accumulate furnishings and clothes. The home is thus the primary base for human enculturation: the house, the shelter for a home. Locationally, houses also provide a means for people having a sense of place identity on the face of the earth, and facilitates communication with its occupants. This house function is signified in particular by the word "address."

#### The Spatial Configuration of Housing

House types do not usually exist in isolation but in relationship to other houses or supplementary buildings. It is the total arrangements for housing, rather than the single house type, which give a definite geography and texture to a community. Among factors which enter into the total housing arrangements of a community are: protection from human and animal marauders, adaptation to the terrain, the habits of social aggregation, patterns of land utilization, code and zoning regulations, and land scarcity. Many of these are overlapping rather than separate factors.

The housing needs of social groups consisting of nuclear families are different from those consisting of extended family households. A nuclear family, consisting of father, mother, and two or three children, typically live in a single family unit; an extended family, consisting of grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, and children, require either a cluster of related house types, or an increase in the size of the house. Since nuclear families are rare in human societies, except within industrial Western countries, either the housing cluster or enlarged house are found throughout the world.

The characteristic spatial dimension of rural-farm housing in the United States is one of dispersion and isolation. Housing

units, with supplementary farm buildings, are located on the farm land, which becomes the locale of social organization as well as means of production. In the grid-system of the middle West, rural farm houses appear in a photograph or map as if they were a magnified suburban area.

Patterns of urban land utilization with its resulting impact on dwelling configurations is generally proportionate to the size of the community. In a hamlet or town, the business district is often confined to family dwellings. In a metropolis, there are many business districts: the central business district of retail stores, office buildings, banks, hotels, and amusement places; railroad, wholesaling and manufacturing areas, and in the interstices and in irregular expanding circles, a variety of urban house types, ranging from slum tenements and shacks to mansions framed in park-like settings. The separation of work from dwelling areas, with the consequent change in dwelling configurations, is especially characteristic of modern industrial cities. This is found in an extreme form in the United States, in which the blend of shops and living quarters in central business buildings is so frequently lacking.

Three factors are particularly associated with housing in urban areas which set housing in these areas off from any other -- land scarcity and population density, wealth, and zoning codes.

Land scarcity and population density are ecological reciprocals, since land scarcity is not always a geographic fact but a cultural and economic definition. The fact is, however, that there is only so much land on which to build convenient to the primary economic functions of cities, and the three possible solutions -- to build close together, to build up, and to build out, have all been utilized in American cities. The usual solution to land scarcity in urban areas is the row house or high rise apartment, although in the United States the status symbol of the single family unit, guaranteed home financing, and zoning regulations restricting land to single-family development have together contributed to the dispersion of the American city into the suburbs. The suburban sprawl common to the entire country has multiplied urban problems of transportation, and large suburban land plots, often an half acre in size, have also increased land, paving, and sanitary costs.

Housing in urban communities, both large and small, tends to become areally distributed in patterns of wealth and social stratification. This is not only true of the older sections, but is equally true of new house construction. In the United States, this is especially true in suburban developments, where a developer builds houses of essentially the same size and costs. House upgrading in the United States is thus frequently associated with population mobility; moves are not made from necessity, but

simply to live in a larger house. An aspect of urban social stratification in the United States today is the ethnic isolation of Negro and Spanish-speaking minority groups in segregated housing areas.

### House Types in the United States

The major difference in house types in the United States by locale is rural and urban. All rural house types are found in rural towns and urban areas; multiple family units, characteristic of urban areas, are not found on rural farms.

There is no house type or style in the United States which is peculiar to the farm, as distinct from urban. In any period -- colonial, antebellum, Victorian, pre-World War I, or contemporary, to mention five broad periods -- the same housing type built on the farms were also built in the cities. The impression that there exists a unique "farm-house type" largely results from the isolated nature of the rural dwelling, with its configuration of detached farm building forming the disarray of a little village -- barn, shed, stable, smokehouse, chickenhouse, and other out-buildings. The same type or style house, sandwiched between other buildings in a city block so that only its facade is directly visible, and in alignment with other buildings, does not look the same because of the difference in the spatial configuration.

Today the suburban single family dwelling, split level or one floor, is erected in the middle of fields and pastures as well as in the suburbs. It is generally long and narrow, placed parallel rather than vertical to the street, with a dominant low, hip roof line, with projecting eaves barely above the windows. The standard lay-out of such houses is on one end, the carport. Adjacent to the carport is the kitchen, which opens into a family room. On the front side of the house is a dining area or room adjacent to the kitchen; in front of the family room is the living room. In the other end of the house are usually three bedrooms, one of which, the master bedroom, has its own bath. When the carport is enclosed, the horizontal line, borrowed from ranch architecture, is emphasized.

The distinctive characteristic of urban housing is the multiple family unit, which ranges in size from the duplex, scarcely distinguishable from the single family unit, to the high rise apartment. The two distinctive types are the row house and the high-rise apartment.

The true row house is a series of family units, separated by a fire wall, each of which has separate back and front entrances, and which are erected in a uniform style. From two to four stories high, the row house may be double or single; if double, rooms are on both sides of a central corridor; if single, rooms are only on one side.

The row house is a classic form of town house, a term which is not restricted to row houses, however, but which is also used to describe houses of somewhat severe exterior embellishment, emphasizing vertical rather than horizontal lines, and set on, rather than back from the street. As fashions in neighborhoods changed in United States cities, the row house was frequently abandoned by one-family occupants, and converted into flats, in which each floor is occupied by a different family or families. Lack of maintenance, adequate sanitary facilities, and overcrowding have converted many row houses in cities all over the world into bleak and dreary tenements. The Chicago architect, Weiss, has described the row house as the civilized solution to living in urban areas, and his plans for the redevelopment of slum areas in the University of Chicago development include the extensive use of a modern style row house, which includes all the amenities of modern living with high land utilization.

Apartment buildings five and six stories high were erected in ancient Rome, but the high-rise apartment, towering many stories into the air, did not appear until the latter part of the nineteenth century. Its introduction depended on two technological innovations: the invention of an elevator with safety features, which dates from 1857, and the use of structural steel, first applied in Chicago in 1885. While there is scarcely any city in the United States today which does not have at least one "skyscraper" or high-rise office building, high-rise apartments are more characteristic of the megalopolis than they are of the small city.

In the high-rise apartment, there is a common ground entrance which leads to the circulation core of elevator and stairwell which carries traffic to each floor. Interior emergency stairs are also provided, in case of fire. Each apartment usually has one entrance, with an interior plan of circulation depending on the size of the apartment. To reduce fire hazards as well as provide structural strength, high-rise apartments are usually built of steel and re-enforced concrete.

With the emphasis in the United States on single family house types for families with children, newer apartment buildings tend to provide compact, small living areas, and the large family apartment is less frequently encountered. Many of the newer apartment buildings have large attached parking garages, from which access leads directly to the circulation core.

Some apartment developments in the United States, such as the apartment complex built by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in lower Manhattan, include park and play areas for children in carefully designed open spaces. In general, however, urban apartment building in the United States has not provided the green bands for play, recreation, and aesthetic balance which

are part of urban plans as recommended by landscape architects as well as city planners. Many of the objections which families with young children have to apartment living do not concern the apartment dwelling itself as much as the lack of play and recreation areas. Many planned apartment projects, particularly in Europe, provide for green bands interspersing the apartment blocks.

The combination of the lack of rapid transit systems for moving people in and out of large cities, the increase in commuting time to the central city, and the decrease in land convenient for city development has caused urban planners in the United States to look with increasing favor on a return to high-rise and compact row houses, built in combination, as a building solution to such urban problems.

### III. ECONOMICS: MATERIAL CULTURE

#### Introduction

Inhabitants of the United States have the greatest accumulation of material goods in the world. Two paradoxes result from this. First, an American is far more dependent on other people for his survival than the individual Arunta who possesses most of the skills needed for existence in his hostile and barren environment. Second, human wants increase as the capacity to produce additional goods increases. Whereas an Arunta may experience starvation, an American may experience relative deprivation of goods that might be psychologically equally excruciating. Survival possesses psychological as well as physical dimensions.

The reasons for the tremendous disparity between the Arunta and the Americans in the catalog of material culture are several and are inter-related. One is to be found in the level of technological development. Hunters and gatherers such as the Arunta have a material culture that is primarily restricted to equipment needed to make a living. Americans have a vast array of tools and equipment that are used to make other things, some of which are used to make a living and others that are consumed in living. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between capital and consumer goods. Capital goods are those that are used directly or indirectly to provide sustenance and livelihood, while consumer goods are used up in living. The Arunta technology includes only the rudiments of capital goods that can be used to produce consumer goods. In fact, the distinction is hardly meaningful in talking about them.

A second factor in the accumulation of material culture by Americans is a social structure that is geared toward production. Not only is there a technology, but a complex social organization and a value system that emphasize the production and use of goods. It is well to remember that all of this is not the mere result of American technological and scientific ingenuity, but was built upon the advanced economy and scientific society which developed slowly in Western Europe. This technology is now having a world-wide impact as new areas are in the process of modernizing.

#### Capital Goods

Capital goods as a concept is merely one aspect of the broader concept of capital, which includes not only material goods but land, labor, technology, the system of social organization for production, public service institutions such as education, health and

sanitation, social welfare, defense, and transportation. Capital goods thus constitute just one part of the total capital which a complex industrial and machine economy utilizes.

For purposes of emphasis, capital goods may be divided into certain classes, such as weapons, domesticated animals, tools, machines, energy systems, communication systems, transportation, and factories. The first three categories are associated with traditional economies, such as weapons with hunting, domesticated animals with herding, tools with horticulture, and animals and tools with agriculture. Machines, power, and the subsequent categories of capital goods are the special attributes of an industrial society, although certain categories may be found in a limited way in agricultural societies in transitional stages.

Weapons are devices specifically designed to kill either animals or men, and the artifacts of man, from a club to modern weapons systems involving rocket propelled electronically guided missiles, reveal this preoccupation of man with killing. The importance of modern weapons goes far beyond their potential destructive power. They make a major contribution to employment and the ability of Americans to purchase consumer goods. Almost half of the United States Government expenditures are for weapons and specialized armed forces to operate them.

Domesticated animals are important capital goods when kept for production or reproduction. They are the classic examples of capital goods. Among pastoralists such as the Kazaks they are of major importance. With the development of mechanical power and modern transportation their function as capital in modern America is limited primarily to being a source of meat, milk, wool, and other products.

The mechanical equipment of a society consists largely of tools and machines. Tools may be described as implements for direct execution of certain kinds of work, such as hammering, sawing, or cutting, in which the motive power for the tools is furnished by the manual power of the craftsman. A tool may be thought of as a device used in conjunction with manual power to perform work. Hunting cultures and many pastoral cultures are characterized by a small number of tools. An industrial culture, such as the United States, is rich in tools. The complex technology has a comparable development in a great variety of specialized tools.

Increasingly, tools are being mechanized. A machine is a complex tool. It is a sequence of parts which is designed to perform work by certain predetermined motions when activated by

power. The distinctive characteristic of a machine is engineered motion, in contrast to that of a tool where motion is in the operator. If a machine is the second step in tool development, a third, automation, is now taking place. Automation is the operation of machines by machines rather than by a human operator.

The development of machines has had a two-fold impact on the lives of people. First, it has made it possible for workers to produce an increased quantity of goods of a uniform quality. As a result, the inventory of goods has been greatly increased. Second, machines have altered the pattern of work. This aspect will be discussed later.

As indicated above, machines involve the application of non-human power to tools. The foremost contributor to the development of machines has been the utilization of new sources of power. Man was first dependent on his own power which, when efficiently used, produces less than 1/10 horsepower. One of the major advantages that the Kazak have over the Arunta is the utilization of animal power.

The great breakthrough in power that opened up the Industrial Revolution was the development of mechanical power to run the machines. This power revolution began with the invention of the steam engine. It was followed by internal combustion engines and electric motors. These were in turn associated with new fuel resources, such as coal, gas, petroleum, and electricity. Today nuclear fission is just beginning to be applied to the production of electricity and the conversion of solar energy into power is being used for charging batteries on satellites. It is difficult to predict the total impact of these new power sources.

The shift from hand tools to machines resulted in a dramatic change in the organization of work, the movement of place of work from the home to the factory. A factory is a vast organization of machines. Factories bring to one focal point the efforts of many workers for the production of large quantities of goods. The demand for labor in factories has been a major contributor to the growth of cities. It should not be forgotten that the application of mechanical power to farming has made it possible for a relatively small number of farmers to feed and supply raw materials to the ever increasing majority of our population living in cities.

Both the production and distribution of goods is dependent upon two other types of capital goods: transportation and communication. The production of large quantities of goods is tied to the ability to move massive amounts of raw materials, finished products, and people. This has been made possible by replacing human and animal power by mechanical power for transportation in the form of railroads, cars and trucks, and aircraft. The organization of the mass society to accomplish the task of production has been facilitated by development of parallel

advancements in communication. Telegraph, telephone, radio, and television have made instantaneous communication possible. Many of the new means of transportation and communication have become consumer goods as well as capital goods.

### Consumer Goods

Consumer goods include a vast category of goods, from the necessary to the trivial, which are used up in the course of living. Necessary goods include such things as food, clothing, and household furnishings. "Necessary" has cultural as well as biological overtones. Some learned habits, such as the smoking of tobacco, the drinking of alcohol, or the use of cosmetics are equated with necessities for physical survival.

Food is a consumer product universally, and, in terms of power, is nothing more than fuel for the human furnace. There are several striking differences between the food habits of Americans and those of the Arunta and Kazak. One is the great increase in the amount of food and the regularity of its availability. The other difference is in the almost complete separation of food consumption from food production. To the Arunta and Kazak, the pursuit of food, either in hunting or in the care of the flocks, is a constant concern of most people. To the American housewife, food is simply the weekly shopping trip to a super market, where the food is frozen, packaged, canned, washed, bagged, or cut up. A major share of the preparation of food from its raw state to the condition in which it is eaten is accomplished before it reaches the home.

Clothing, like shelter, helps man to adjust his biological organism to climatic exigencies. It is also associated with customs of modesty and decoration. In American culture today, the most important consideration in clothing for both men and women is style. Children very early become style conscious, first with the early sex typing as to distinct dress for boys and girls, and later with peer group reinforcement of latest trends or fads emanating from various fashion centers. A distinctive characteristic of American clothing is the dominance of ready-to-wear clothes for men and boys, women and girls. Mass production of standardized sizes has made both stylish and well-fitting clothing available at relatively economic costs. As a result, dress of both men and women has become largely standardized. The differences between the dress of various groups in the United States have been reduced to relative cost of materials and minor variations.

Household furnishings accumulate in proportion to permanency of dwellings and the ability to produce in large quantities at a

price that can maximize availability. American household goods are composed of a vast array of furniture and appliances. It is the latter, with stoves, refrigerators, washing machines, clothes dryers, vacuum cleaners, and many others, that sets Americans apart from most people of the world.

The American car serves as a means of getting to and from work, and as such is a capital good, while in its use for recreation or going shopping is a consumer good. Each year Americans spend more on cars than they do on housing. Their production and maintenance constitutes a major share of the economy. The car, like other consumer goods, has purposes other than transportation. Its size, cost, and newness are status symbols.

Other consumer goods in the United States are the large quantities of newspapers, magazines, and books. The per capita expenditure in this country is not as high as in some other countries. One of the indices of the economic level of the country is the publication of reading material, and only a wealthy country can consign tons of newsprint to the garbage dump. Recreation in the form of television, radio, sports, vacations, and even gardening constitute another major segment of consumer goods.

### Conclusion

The emphasis on American abundance is not intended to suggest superiority of the American way of life over that pursued by another culture. An American would be just as helpless and out of place among the Arunta or Kazak as the Arunta or Kazak would be in the United States. Each culture has the practices and patterns appropriate to its situation. Societies which duplicate mass consumption patterns characteristic of the American economy will, however, take on some of those characteristics. It is not because these characteristics are peculiarly American, but, rather, because they are characteristics of an industrial society.

It should be noted that the abundant economy of American is not evenly distributed throughout this country. There are many regional variations, including pockets of poverty in such places as Appalachia, the Northern cut-over lands, and city slums. One of the common measures of measuring relative socio-economic position in the country is a level of living index based largely on possession on consumer goods.

#### IV. ECONOMICS: EARNING A LIVING

##### Introduction

People all over the world must work to sustain life. As with other cultural traits, work has infinite variations, and may range from hunting grubs, as with the Arunta, herding sheep, as with the Kazak, to an investor in Tokyo, Rome, or New York watching the stock market returns and giving a buy or sell order to his broker. In the first example, the hunter directly expends effort and there is a direct return, if he is skillful, between the time and energy output and his success in food gathering. In the last example, the investor makes a judgment, based upon his knowledge of the stock market, and the return for time outputs may be disproportionate to energy expended. His return will be indirect, in the form of profits which may be only an account transaction, which, in a money economy, he can convert into food, shelter, or clothing. The more complex the industrial economy and its parallel marketing and financial systems, the more complicated is the relationship between clothing, food, and other elements of family consumption and the role of the wage earner, usually the father, who waves good-bye to wife and children and disappears for many hours at some mysterious place called "work."

To provide some background for contrasting the way a living is earned in the United States and in some primitive economies, the following topics will be discussed: All Kinds of Work -- Even in the House; Organizing Work -- The Division of Labor; Job Multiplicity, Separation of Earning a Living from the Home; Technological and Occupational Change; and Differentials in Employment and Income by Occupation, Region, Sex, and Education.

In a money economy, the conventional point of view equates work with effort for which pay is received. Thus, housewives are not usually classified as a part of the civilian labor force in the United States. In 1964, over thirty-five million women were classified as "keeping house," a figure half as large as the combined male and female civilian labor force. Keeping house involves a tremendous amount of time and energy, from the care of children to the washing of clothes, from preparing food to waxing furniture. No man could hire for himself or for his family a full-time, seven-day domestic for \$1,000 a year. At this absurdly low figure, the economic worth of housekeeping would be over thirty-five billion dollars a year. The point is that much useful work in a society may not be technically regarded as work, but it adds to the total productivity of goods and services available. Some neighborhoods appear spruce and well kept and make inviting places to live, simply because there is effort expended to keep it that way. The work to be accomplished in a culture at a given time is thus greater than that needed merely to make a living.

The biological nature of man imposes two fundamental divisions of labor. The first is by sex; the second, by age. The nature of mammalian reproduction requires that the female spend more time in the care of young than the male, and thus, wherever there are children, it is the female who has this primary task. A second biological consequence is that in the life cycle neither the very young nor the very old can perform arduous or skillful tasks. In hunting, horticultural, pastoral, and plow cultures, there is frequently a gradation of tasks from infancy to senility. Among the Kazak, the boys herd sheep while the men care for horses. In technological societies, such as the United States, child labor laws prohibit the employment of the young and retirement laws command displacement of productive workers at fixed ages. The societal task imposed on the young is formal education, in order that they may be intelligent citizens, but, above all, in order that they may become more productive workers. The societal task imposed upon the elderly is to adjust themselves emotionally to a non-productive, wage earning life and to live as gracefully as possible on a meager pension, partly endowed by Social Security, which is a system of national retirement.

The division of labor is a function of the complexity of the society. While there is some division of labor among the Kazak -- the boys herd sheep, the women milk, and the men care for the horses -- the overall impression in a household economy is one of community effort rather than specialization. The invention of a money economy was an incentive to specialization. It permitted a worker to concentrate on developing proficiency in a particular craft or trade, and thereby create disposable surpluses above his immediate needs. The advance of technology also has permitted the output of a producer to be broken down into many separate operations. The modern industrial system is one in which former craftsmen have been turned into machine operatives, each of which only performs a particular step in the production and assembly of goods. This specialization in manufacturing has likewise been accompanied by specialization in other fields of the economy, so that today most people know at a given time only a small part about the world of work, even in the same plant or office.

A rough idea of the extent to which labor is specialized is given by the 1949 Dictionary of Occupational Titles, which contained 40,023 defined titles, ranging from "able-bodied seaman" to "zoo storeman." In the sixteen years which have elapsed since this edition, a rapidly changing technology has added new jobs while old ones have changed or become obsolete. New words which are representative of tremendous changes in technology are not found in the 1949 edition, such as "television," "rocket," and "missile." The word "computer" was restricted to seismographic activities and "jet" to the rayon filament industry.

Until the beginning of the modern factory system in the eighteenth century, family living and work were usually not separated. Whether on the farm or in the city, the productive effort was a household affair. After the craft guilds and cottage industries were replaced by the more efficient factory, the worker left the place of eating, sleeping, and general living to go to another place to work alongside other workers. The result was that earning a living ceased to be a matter of common observation and knowledge in the household, performed under the eyes of the family, and earning a living became dependent on having a job, of finding someone who would pay the worker for his labor.

### Technological Change and Occupational Change

The vast technological changes in American society are bringing rapid shifts in occupations. It is relatively easy, on the basis of birth and death rates, to calculate the increase in the size of the labor force. However, changes in demand for particular products, change in technology, over-all level of the economy, and personal income make it more difficult to predict changes in occupations. The United States Department of Labor projections for the next ten years are as follows in order of size:

1. Manufacturing - increase slowly with continuing demand for skilled craftsmen and machinists, but a decline in semi-skilled operatives.
2. Retail and wholesale trade - population growth and rising incomes are expected to account for a one-third increase.
3. Government employment - not much change is expected in national government, but the increased demand in the fields of education, health, welfare, and police and fire protection may result in a fifty per cent increase in state and local employees.
4. Service industries - the fastest growing group will grow over 60 per cent or three times as fast as manufacturing.
5. Transportation, communications, and public utilities - overall growth will be slow with air transportation and trucking expected to grow rapidly while railroading will decline.
6. Finance, insurance, and real estate - as a result of expanded installment buying and credit needs, expansion of urban growth and industrialization, an increase of about 44 per cent is expected.
7. Construction industry - projected increases of up to 52 per cent will result from a rapidly growing population needing homes, schools, and roads.

8. Mining - mechanization of mining and shift to oil and gas for fuel has cut this group in half in the last forty years and no growth is expected.
9. Agriculture - each farmer now is able to supply more than four times as many people as he did in 1870, and by 1975 the farm labor force will have declined to less than 5 per cent of the labor force.

The increase in the white collar groups and the decline of blue collar workers reflects technological advances, the shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy, the growing needs of the population for education and medical services, and the increased demands of all types of enterprises for more record keeping. The largest increase in white collar jobs will be in the categories of professionally and technically educated employees, but the demand for clerical workers will also continue to rise. Job projections for the future indicate that, more than ever, the labor market will demand workers with marketable skills, and a total educational program to upgrade the entire level of the work force is required. The unskilled laborer, the person without any particular skill, will be in little demand.

Female participation in the labor force will increase. Except for women in the age group 25 to 34, the years of rearing young children, the female participation rate, other than the very young and the very old, is half that of males. Contrary to a popular impression that it is unmarried women who mainly work, married women constitute the largest part of the female labor force.

#### Differentials in Employment and Income

The various occupations and income are not equally distributed among all groups and all sections of the country. Differentials in occupation and income include ethnic group, sex, education, and geographic region. These factors are interrelated.

The male non-white labor force in 1960 made up 9.6 per cent of the civilian labor force. However, they made up only 3.5 per cent of the professional group and were over-represented in semi-skilled jobs such as operatives in laundry and dry cleaning where 38.3 per cent are non-white. Since 90 per cent of the non-whites are Negro, it is clear that there is a difference in employment opportunities for Negroes. The fact that Negroes are employed primarily in low paying jobs is reflected in income. In 1962 the median annual family income for non-whites was half that of white families, \$3,330 as compared with \$6,237. The median years of school completed show the same pattern, 8.6 for non-white and 11.8 for white.

There are vast differences in the pay received for various jobs. For example, construction trades average \$3.66 per hour while service employees in hotels averaged \$1.22 per hour. The amount of pay is determined by the skill required and the number with that skill in the work force. Blue collar workers are usually paid weekly on the basis of an hourly wage rate. White collar workers receive a monthly or semi-monthly salary and may have a yearly contract.

Regional differences in income are due to variations in the location of certain jobs and to differentials in the pay for the same work. Pay scales are lower in the South than in other areas, such as California. The discrepancy in equal pay for equal work is greatest in the lower skilled jobs and least in the professions.

Education and income are closely related. In 1961, it was estimated that the income of a worker with a grade school education, from age 18 to death, would be \$151,348; a high school graduate, \$272,000; and a college graduate, \$452,518. Each increment in level of educational attainment is accompanied by an increase in income almost twice that of the preceding level. This differential is widening. For example, the average yearly income for those with less than 8 years of schooling increased from \$2,062 in 1946 to \$2,998 in 1961, while that for college graduates more than doubled, \$4,527 to \$9,817, during the same period. Differentials in schooling is one of the most important components in the income and socio-economic class structure.

The mean annual family income in the United States has increased from \$4,300 in 1929 to \$7,370 in 1962. This has greatly improved the level of living of the whole population. However, there are vast differences between individual families and many pockets of poverty still exist.

These great disparities in income are reflected in the amounts of goods and services which are available to people. Those in the lower income brackets have fewer life chances, as measured by such factors as longevity, medical care, mental disorders, education, housing, treatment before the law, etc. These problems are characteristic of agricultural, urban, and industrial societies in which there are great differences in wealth. Such extremes do not usually characterize preliterate societies, where the level of goods for the entire community is barely above a subsistence level and where wealth is largely a function of the size of the kinship lineage rather than of goods or income.

Summary

Earning a living in the United States is quite different from that of simple economies, in which economic activities cluster about a single type of activity. Earning a living in the United States depends primarily upon qualifying for and holding a job, and job demands reflect the complex interactions of the market for goods and services and technological changes. The amount of living, in terms of money earned from wages, varies according to the occupation and the section of the country. Jobs in the United States depend more and more on marketable skills, and these skills depend more and more on the educational level of the job seeker. The amount of disposable income, which can be exchanged for goods and services, depends upon the amount of money income which family units can earn. However, the level of living or style of living for families and groups is influenced by the standard of living or preferences in how they spend their income.

## V. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: HOUSEHOLD

### Introduction

One of the characteristics of man is that he always lives in a group. Only in rare situations do individuals live alone, but this is usually for only a portion of their lives. The family or household is the smallest unit of society. The family consists of mates and their offspring, while the household is made up of the people living together in one dwelling unit. In societies where it is possible for a man to have more than one wife, the wives may have individual houses. In this case the family is made up of several households. On the other hand, a family may have relatives such as an aunt or grandparent, or non-relatives living with it. In this case the household is larger than the family. Because the modern American household is usually limited to a husband and wife with their unmarried children, we rarely think about the distinction between a family and a household.

### Functions of the Family

All families perform many of the functions that people find necessary for survival and continuation of their way of life. The first major function of the family is perpetuation of the group. This function centers about the procreation and care of children. In most societies children are born into a family, and their physical needs are looked after by the older members of the family. For this reason, sex activities focus on patterns of marriage and divorce.

The second major function of the family is perpetuation of culture. Children are born without culture, but they begin to learn almost immediately after birth. This learning one's culture is called enculturation, and the start of this process is within the family. The pattern of training of children within the family probably has a major influence on the development of individual personality. It is within the family that both young and old find security and satisfy the need for establishing close association with others. It should be pointed out that none of the basic functions of the family necessarily have to be carried out within the family. However, nearly all people have found that the family is the best system to carry out most of these activities.

The American family carries out several other functions. It is the principal consuming unit. Most individual expenditures are carried out within the family. A level-of-living index based upon possession of various consumer goods, such as television sets, home freezers, type of house, and similar items, correlates closely with family characteristics such as education, age, and occupation of the individual members. The family is a major unit in participation within the community. The social activities of individuals in their community is closely associated with how the whole family fits into the community. Social class and ethnic group affiliation are important here.

### Getting Married

Marriage is the means by which a family is officially formed. This fact may seem obvious, but less obvious is the idea that all marriages affect the entire society within which it occurs. Thus, marriage is the concern of more than two individuals. It is controlled by our society through the legal system, religion, and family, together with other people making up the society.

Marriage is preceded in American society by dating. Modern young people are involved in a dating-rating complex. Physical appearance, dancing ability, possession or access to a car, clique membership, and popularity with the opposite sex are sources of prestige rating for the individual. Today dating is not considered to be courtship to the extent it was in the past. The modern idea is that young people should participate in a period of dating before entering into serious courtship. Successful courtship leads to engagement and, after a time, to marriage.

The American ideal in mate selection is romantic love. The idea of choosing a husband or wife on the basis of mutual attraction or love is emphasized to a much greater extent in American society than in most. A more common pattern is the selection of the mate for an individual by the group. In reality, people in American society do not have complete freedom in this matter.

There are many regulations. The individual states have laws stating the conditions under which a marriage can take place. In order to marry, it is necessary to meet certain qualifications such as age and freedom from disease in order to secure a marriage license. The marriage must be performed by an authorized person, usually a clergyman or, less often, a civil official. Our system of marriage is monogamous. That is, it permits only one husband or wife at a time. Each state and many religions set up the conditions under which a marriage

may be terminated by divorce.

All societies prohibit marriage between certain of their members. Rules which inform the individual that he must marry outside a certain group to which he belongs are rules of exogamy. Marriage within this group is called incest. The usual rules cover marriage between parents and their children or between brothers and sisters. Twenty-eight of the fifty states consider first cousins too close for marriage.

At the same time, there are usually rules that set the limits as to how far out of the kinship group a person can go to find a mate. This is known as endogamy. The most common rules of endogamy pertain to race, religion, and social class. A few of our states have laws prohibiting inter-racial marriage, but most control of this sort rests with religions and family groups.

After a couple marry, they must have a place to live. In the United States, they usually set up a household of their own. Neolocal (new location) is the term applied to this situation. In many other societies the couple will live with the family or group of the groom (patrilocal) or with that of the bride (matrilocal). If they actually live within the household of either parent, an extended family is created. Formerly, there were more extended families than there are today.

#### The Modern American Family

Much has been said about a new type of family emerging in the United States. The typical American family, if there is such, consists of a husband and wife with about two children. The family size has actually increased slightly since World War II. This type is called a nuclear or restricted conjugal family. There are few retired parents or other kin living in the household. This is the trend in spite of the fact that the number of years a person can expect to live has increased greatly. As a result the role of the aged is an increasing problem in our society.

Marriage is taking place at an earlier age than in the past. In 1890 the average age at marriage was about 27 years for men and 23 years for women. Today it has dropped about 4 years less for men and 2 for women. In our society, it is believed that the husband and wife should be approximately the same age. If there is a difference in age, the husband can be a couple of years older than the wife. Since a woman has a life expectancy of 5.7 years more than a man, it suggests that it might be best that the wife be older than the husband. The present custom results in a great many widows who control a large share of the nation's wealth.

The lower age at marriage and the smaller number of children has brought about another change. Women have their last child at a much earlier age. In 1890, the average age at which women had completed their families was about 32; today the last child is born about six years earlier. This is one of the major factors in the increase of the number of married women who are gainfully employed.

The functions of the family are changing. Many of the aspects of functions such as education, religious training, and earning a living take place outside the home and the family. One result of this has been an increasing emphasis on romantic love, before and after marriage. Recreation has become individualized and has moved outside of the home. However, TV and the grill on the patio are bringing recreation back into the home.

Child care emphasizes latest methods. Dr. Spock is a household word. Children are under constant care and supervision. Their lives are molded into a routine by the school system, the dancing or piano lessons, the Little League, Boy Scouts, and countless other organized activities. One writer lamented this situation and called them "suburbia's coddled kids." (Peter Wyden, Suburbia's Coddled Kids, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1960). Children are constantly reminded of the basic middle class value of success in everything.

To what extent can the above description be considered as typical of the American family? Actually, it applies primarily to the middle class. This ideal family type does not hold for all groups. Divorce is becoming more common. This is not categorically an indication of increased unhappiness in marriage. Relaxation of laws and attitudes toward divorce have made it easier to obtain. Because of the frequency of remarriage, about one child in nine is a stepchild.

In families in lower socio-economic groups where there is great economic instability, the family unit is apt to be brittle. The stable core is the mother and children. In addition, it is customary in a divorce case to award the children to the mother. As a result, there are a great many matriarchal families. At one time there were many family types in the United States brought in by the various ethnic or cultural groups. Successive generations have brought change so that the modern family follows social class and community lines.

#### Kinship System

The idea of family relationships extends beyond the nuclear family. This extension is known as the kinship system. The American kinship system is essentially bilateral, in that it does

not distinguish relatives on the mother's side from those on the father's side. However, we do take our father's name, and to this extent the system is patrilineal.

Compared to many groups, the American kinship is rather simple with relatives in the parents' generation classified as aunts and uncles. Relatives in the individual's own generation who are not brothers and sisters are cousins. A distinction between blood, consanguinal, relatives and relatives by marriage, affinal, is made by adding the prefix "in-law." Thus, a brother's wife becomes sister-in-law.

The general lack of emphasis on kinship terms stems from the fact that the American social organization is based on non-kin relationships. In some rather isolated rural areas, kinship groups may become important. These groups are frequently called 'clans.' They are not clans such as found with the Arunta. Rather than being based on lineal descent, they are composed of a variety of relatives. Such a group is called a "kindred." In upper class groups in various parts of the country, kinship ties are still important. In most facets of American activity, kinship is ruled out by law. Many government agencies and corporations have regulations against nepotism, or the hiring of close relatives.

The social organization of the Arunta and the Kazak is based on kinship. Arunta clans are important in religion and in controlling activities of the people. American society is organized on non-kin basis. Special organizations and institutions have been developed. Instead of clans regulating conduct, there is an almost bewildering variety of formal governmental units. Other activities are organized through the creation of formal associations such as clubs, lodges, etc. Economic activities are grouped together in formal structures called companies and corporations.

The family is recognized as a fundamental unit in American culture. However, most activities in the massive society of 180,000 are carried on outside the home and with non-kin.

## VI. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: THE COMMUNITY

### Definition

The community is a basic unit of society. Man always lives in groups. All societies, regardless of diversity, have family and community. Although the idea of community is universally recognized, it is rather difficult to define. A community can be defined as a group of people who live in a particular geographic area and are aware of sharing a common way of doing things together.

The word "community" is a generic term and refers to a group or class of things rather than a single entity. Usually the term community is applied to locality groups or groups that can be located in terms of a very specific space. A variety of words are used to designate such communities. These include: neighborhood, community, hamlet, village, town, city, metropolis, megopolis, and even region and world communities. Certain non-locality groups are thought of as communities. Some of these are religious communities as in the expression "Jewish Community," the university community, and the Negro community. Factories, hospitals, and other organized activities have been studied as communities. In this discussion we will be concerned with the community as a locality group.

### Basis of Community

As seen in the definition, community is based on several elements. These are: territory, people, common culture, and collective action.

All communities are territorially based. Social groups, as well as the various kinds of plants and animals, occupy specific territories. The study of the special arrangement of communities is known as ecology.

One of the first tasks in the study of a community is to delineate its boundaries. Most residents of a community know the name of the place where they live and can designate the boundaries of their own and neighboring communities. Another way to locate the area covered by the community is to ask people where they go to church, to school, and to do their buying. The services of the community can be outlined by mapping the area serviced by the churches, schools, and stores in the trade center. It should be remembered that community boundaries do not necessarily coincide with the political boundaries or "city limits."

Communities containing the same number of people and in the same size area will vary or differ according to the distribution of the population and facilities in space. Thus, a rural community may have its families scattered randomly, in a line along a road, or clustered at a crossroads. In the same way a city may consist of concentric zones starting with the central business district or downtown area and ending with the ring of suburban neighborhoods on the outer edge, a series of zones radiating out from the center like the spokes of a wheel, or may have multiple business centers like Los Angeles, California.

The community is the dwelling place of people. Their number, their characteristics, and movement have an important impact. For example, a community with several different ethnic or racial groups will be different from one inhabited by people who are all alike. Within a community there is a sense of belonging based on a common way of behaving or a shared culture. The residents feel that they are living with their kind of people.

Finally, the community is a base for collective action. The inhabitants do things together. It is where they live, work, worship, go to school, and obtain essential services. This involvement in the community creates and maintains an awareness of the community and an identification with it.

#### The Development of the American Community

The characteristic American pattern of settlement has differed from that found in most parts of the world. The frontier was pushed westward by families building homes and establishing farms individually and scattered over the countryside. In most areas of the world the farm families live in villages. The farm village pattern was found only occasionally in this country. The major exceptions were a few of the early forts, and some special groups such as the Mexicans and Mormons in western states. At first glance it is difficult to "see" community in rural America when the houses are scattered haphazardly. However, families living near each other organized churches, established schools, and engaged in other activities that developed a sense of community.

As the country began to fill up, trade centers began to develop. They were rather evenly distributed. The distance between them was about a day's travel. Some of these trade centers grew into cities. Today the cities are the fastest growing areas. At the same time many rural communities are losing population and are losing their identity because of the influence of the towns and cities in spreading out over the rural area. Modern

farming techniques have made it possible for one farmer to feed 25 or more people. Less than ten per cent of the people now live on farms. People are shifting from the farm to non-farm jobs. Super cities are now developing. For example, it is possible to travel from Boston southward through New York to Baltimore and Washington without going outside a metropolitan area. The strip cities are known as a megapolis.

### Factors Influencing the Kind of Community

As one travels across the United States he will see many kinds of communities. Why do so many different kinds of communities exist? There are at least four factors that influence the kind of community that develops. They are population size, occupation and economic specialty, geographic location, and level of technological development.

In general, the larger the population in a community, the more complex will be its organization. It is easy to understand how it will take larger and more complex institutions such as government to insure the orderly operation of community functions in the city than in a small rural locality. When a community grows to more than 300-450 people, it becomes difficult for everyone to know everyone, and there is division into subgroups within the community. At about 25,000 people, the trade center servicing a rural area will shift to manufacturing or some other activity that can bring about growth that is not dependent on the surrounding area. By the time the population reaches 100,000, it usually becomes a well defined city, and with 500,000 people it becomes a metropolitan center.

Another type of relationship between size and kind of community concerns the number of people that are required in a community to support certain kinds of activities. Grocery stores, drug stores, and filling stations are found in small villages, but department stores, book stores, and television stations must have a larger population to support them. A study in a western state found that a small rural trade center with 25 commercial establishments required about 1,000 people in the town with 700 farms and 2,800 people in the surrounding area. On the other hand, a junior-senior high school with an enrollment of 300-400 would require a district containing about 8,000 people.

The occupation or economic specialization will influence the characteristics of the community. We are apt to think of the manufacturing center as the more or less typical modern city. Such places usually have a relatively high average income but a lower socio-economic level than other places. There are fewer women

working. However, the small southern town with a garment plant will be an exception and will have more jobs for women than for men. Trade centers require the services of many white collar workers, professionals, managers, sales people, and service workers. In a similar manner, transportation, administrative or government, military, educational, and recreational communities have their special characteristics. On an average only one-third of the labor force is employed in the specialty area, while the other two-thirds are required to maintain the local community and its inhabitants. The higher the level of living in a community, the larger the percentage of the workers employed in the maintenance force.

As stated earlier, small communities seem to be relatively evenly spaced according to what was roughly a day's travel at the time of its founding. However, there are irregularities in both growth pattern and spacing. The question is that of the geographic causes for particular kinds of communities being located where they are and why some grow more than others. The location of natural resources and their relationship to potential markets is one major geographic factor in community location. This helps explain the location of mining communities in places that in many respects do not seem to be favored locations. Location on or near transportation routes influences community growth. Breaks in transportation such as ports where there is a shift between land and water forms of travel are particularly favorable for large population centers. Political boundaries and existing concentrations of people also feature in community growth. For example, larger places seem to attract industry more than small towns. This may be due in part to the fact that engineers, managers, and others favor the specialized services that can be found only in large cities. Again, many industries are dependent on other industries for materials and for markets.

A fourth factor influencing the kind of community is the level of technological development. Man is dependent upon his skills or technology to obtain his needs from the natural environment. Different methods of doing this will result in different patterns of living in the same area. Thus, on the Zuni Plateau of western New Mexico there are very different modes of life using the same environment. The Navajo Indians herd sheep and move frequently. The Texans dry farm beans on widely scattered homesteads. The Mormons live in compact villages and depend on a cooperative irrigation system.

Changes in technology can bring drastic change in a community. The development of fuels has resulted in the decline of coal mining towns in the Appalachian area. A shift from steam to diesel engines on American railroads has made many railroad service

center towns obsolete. Rapid automation is bringing about further changes in the employment pattern, relocation of new factories, and an increase in the amount of leisure time. These will bring about further changes in our communities.

### American Communities Today

There is no one American community. The United States is characterized by its great diversity. This diversity is a product of the many different groups that came to this continent bringing their traditions and the great diversity in geography and natural resources. Thus, a farming community or a trade center in Georgia will not be identical with its counterparts in New England, the Midwest, or other regions. However, at the same time communication and travel have made possible the development of a mass culture. Certain attitudes, values, and other characteristics are expressed in nationwide television, radio, magazines, and the program of nationwide organizations. This is creating a general American culture that blankets and unifies the whole nation.

It is not the purpose here to attempt to describe all the features of modern American communities. A framework will be presented into which the reader can fit his own community. This framework starts with the focal point of American life, the city, and works outward.

American community life centers on the city. This statement is true in spite of the tradition that American values are best exemplified in rural life. The vast majority of people live in cities. Not only are the cities population centers, but urban life patterns are spreading out over the rural area. The effect is that urban rather than rural cultural patterns are beginning to dominate. Elements of the modern urban way of life can be summarized as follows:

1. Mass division of labor accompanied by high specialization of work, and mass production of goods and services for widest distribution.
2. Almost total commitment to the use of mechanisms and mechanical power, whether in places of work or non-work.
3. Increasing detachment of the individual from traditional loyalties, greater transiency in his contacts, and his increasing dependency on secondary grouping.
4. High mobility in the individual's daily circulation; changes of residences, job changes and changes in occupation, leading often to change in social status.

5. Continuous change in the man-made elements of the urban environment, especially in structural renewal and technological advance.
6. Almost complete subordination of the individual and groups to mechanical time, and increasing control by clock over appointments and the coordination of movements.
7. High transiency in acquaintance and contact relations of the individual accompanied by considerable anonymity in his relations with the crowd.
8. Attitudes of expectancy toward all forms of change, and an increasing capacity for adoption, with attitudes of devotion to change.
9. Increasing commitment to records and conformity to their use for verification of actions, contacts, pledges, and presences.

Most of these essential elements of urban living are found in the urbanization of all industrial countries.

The center of American life is the central city. At its core is the central business district which is in turn surrounded by a variety of areas for business, industry, and residence. The city is in many ways a conglomeration of neighborhood communities representing localities peopled by various social classes, occupational groups and ethnic minorities.

The city is bordered by suburbs. Most of these are residential communities for people who work in the central city. However, there is a trend for the movement of certain kinds of industries out to the suburbs. Although the stereotype is of the middle class suburb inhabited by the professional and the junior executive, there are a great variety of suburban types.

Beyond the suburbs is the rural-urban fringe. It is an ill-defined area where the city merges with the country. The pattern of life is a mixture of that of the original rural population and the outward movement of urban residents.

Moving farther out from the central city may be an outer ring of satellite cities. These are smaller cities that have been caught up by the spreading influence of the dominating urban center. Most of the satellite cities were at one time independent and have their own sphere of influence.

Beyond the city is the open country with its rural neighborhood communities. Where these rural areas are some distance from the central city, they will be serviced by rural trade center towns. However, the rural trade centers obtain their supplies from the urban centers.

As one moves farther out from the central center, he eventually passes out of the region dominated by one city and enters that of another. Then the sequence of community types is reversed until the central business district of the next central city is reached. Further, it should be remembered that the exact character of the communities encountered will vary somewhat with geographic region and its economic specialty.

### A Working Outline for the Study of a Community

The best way to gain an understanding of the American community is to take a look at your own. A brief outline for studying a community follows:

- I. Adaptation to the Natural Environment
  - A. Natural environment
  - B. The forms of economic enterprise
    1. Primary (dealing directly with natural things in their environment, e.g., agriculture, mining)
    2. Secondary (carrying, processing, and otherwise dealing with things out of their natural environment, e.g., manufacturing)
    3. Tertiary (nonproductive enterprise, e.g., education, amusements, medicine)
  - C. The kinds of people in each form of economic enterprise
- II. The Social Organization
  - A. Territorial dimension
    1. The local community
    2. Relation to regional and national community
  - B. Social differentiation of the non-rank type
    1. Sex, age, sex and age groups
    2. Family and extended kinship groups
    3. Associations--formal and informal
  - C. Rank, forms of (social stratification)
  - D. Ethnic differentiation
  - E. The government
    1. Formal arrangements
    2. The government as a functioning system
  - F. Leaders and leadership
- III. Ideologies
  - A. "Religious ideologies"
  - B. "Nationalistic ideologies"
  - C. "Moral ideologies"
    1. "The ideal person" type
    2. "Community well-being" type
- IV. Cultural History
  - A. Cultural history
  - B. Recent trends

## VII. RELIGION

### Introduction

Everywhere man has the realization that there is some force of power beyond the realm of natural man. The beliefs in these powers encompass what is usually called religion. Religion may be defined as a system of beliefs and practices governed by faith rather than by knowledge. This faith relates man to the supernatural realm beyond the known and the controllable. This faith is characterized by an intensity of feeling that distinguishes the sacred from the secular or everyday world. This intensity of feeling leads people to look on the other person's religion as being superstition.

The concern of men about their relations to the supernatural, with their gods, is an inseparable part of the life of all communities and tribes. Although the outward expression of religion is in the rituals and symbols, its inner force is extremely deep. The attitudes of most individuals toward society as a whole and its institutions of marriage, family, kinship, economics, and government are often perceived in the light of the religious experience of that society to which they belong. In other words, religion extends beyond the simple relation of man and God. It adds sanction and defines moral obligations for all situations that are found in daily life. The church is the carrier of the sacred and moral ideology of the community.

Religion is a worldwide universal in both time and space and exhibits an almost endless variety of beliefs and practices. Religion can best be understood if three aspects are studied: (1) belief, (2) ritual, and (3) the place of religion in the total culture. These will be considered one at a time.

### Belief systems

The religious beliefs of the American community are those of the Judaic-Christian tradition. This faith is God-centered. All being has its beginning and end in God, and its unity, reality, and order is in relationship to Him, and, for Christians, His son Jesus Christ. The beliefs are based on the Bible. The God of the Bible makes an unconditional demand upon men, and calls for total love and obedience. In the Jewish-Christian faith, redeeming grace comes only after a final judgment.

Numerous surveys have shown that at least 95 per cent of Americans believe in God, and 90 per cent say that they pray. They believe in life after death in heaven or hell. About 75 per cent

regard themselves as members of churches and a sizable proportion attend services. They hold the Bible to be the inspired "word of God." By a large majority they hold religion to be of very great importance.

Thus it would seem that religion is an important part of American life and in this has much in common with most peoples in the world. There are, however, several special features of American religion. In general, it is dominated by a brand of Protestantism that is highly individualistic in interpretation, emphasizes puritanical ethics and judgment of the grosser forms of personal immorality, and sanctions such personal virtues as honesty and hard work.

Probably the most unique feature of American religion is its proliferation of different religious bodies. In most societies of the world, there tends to be one set of religious beliefs to which all adhere. Although there may be ceremonial societies within the tribal religion, there is not an emphasis on "belonging" to the religion. Religion is an integral part of total culture in which they all live. Divided religions were found occasionally among the advanced tribal groups of West Africa. In addition, Christianity differs from tribal religions in another respect. It is felt to be a universal religion that should encompass all mankind and should not be restricted to the American "tribe."

The churches in America take many different forms and vary greatly in size and complexity. They may take the form of a small rural church, a "store front" church in a city slum, or a huge city church. They may also take the form of a religious order, a national denomination, or a large international organization like the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, a church may be small or large, simple or complex, and loosely organized or highly bureaucratic. The term "church" is used to refer to all instances where people have established some form of organization to meet their religious needs. Those that fit into the dominant pattern of religion are called "denominations," while those that are considered to be different are often called "sects." However, each person thinks of his own group as "the" church.

The Federal Bureau of the Census has not attempted a census of religious bodies since 1936 and questions on religion are not included in the census of population taken every ten years. The various churches count members in different ways and few denominations attempt to keep membership statistics on a national scale. For this reason, most figures are only approximate, but they do give the general picture.

The National Council of Churches estimates that in the United States there are 252 religious bodies with 117,946,000 members in 319,240 churches. In addition, there are probably 100 to 200 additional sects and other cults not included in their census. This does not include several thousand independent groups. Eighteen religious bodies have over 1,000,000 members and contain between 80 and 90 percent of the total membership.

Although over 90 per cent of Americans give a religious affiliation, the claims of various churches indicate that about two-thirds of the population are actually church members. This is about twice the number as around the turn of the century. Protestants have traditionally dominated the American scene, but no single religious body claims a majority of the church members in the nation.

The relative distribution of members by denominations is not uniform. Catholics and Jews show their greatest strength in the Northeast. Protestants are over represented in the South. Jews are the largest group in New York City, Lutherans have more members than any other group in Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota, and Methodists are dominant in Delaware.

Only three churches constitute a majority in any state or region. Catholics are a majority in New England, New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, Montana, Louisiana, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Latter-day Saints (Mormons) are in the majority in Utah and Idaho, and Baptists are in the majority or near majority in most of the states in the Deep South. Within certain communities one church may be in a majority and may be a controlling force.

America has been a melting pot of religions. Religion is no longer a national political issue. Compare the presidential campaigns of Al Smith and John F. Kennedy. This does not mean that there are not local conflicts between religious groups and that individuals do not have strong feelings. This country is moving toward a tri-religious accommodation of Protestant, Catholic, and Jew. They represent 66, 26, and 3 percent of the population respectively. All other religions account for less than 2 percent and nearly 4 percent reported no affiliation.

#### Ritual and Ceremony

A vital part of every religion is the ritual or ceremony. These are prescribed activities that are carried out because of religious beliefs. When one thinks of religious ceremonies or services, one is usually reminded of church buildings. One of the outstanding architectural features of American communities is

the churches. However, they rarely overpower the scene as do the great churches in European towns. The buildings vary greatly in size and style. We learn to recognize the spiritual homes of the different denominations by the form of the buildings.

In the so-called "primitive" societies certain life crises including birth, puberty, marriage, and death, are recognized symbolically by rites of passage. In American communities, these periods are recognized in church ceremonies which vary in form according to the denomination of the church. The new-born child is officially made a member of society through baptism and christening. The child at this time is recognized as an individual, given a name, and the supernatural is called upon for protection. At the same time the parents and sometimes psuedo-parents (godparents) assume obligations in respect to the rearing of the child.

Puberty is recognized by another series of rites. Perhaps, since in our society puberty does not coincide with the assumption of adult status, the actual ceremony does not take place exactly at puberty but at varying times from eight to fourteen years of age depending upon the group. At this time the individual may be baptized or confirmed a member of a church. This marks the beginning of adult participation in ceremonial life and is in this sense a puberty rite.

Marriage is usually consecrated through a church ceremony. Members of a church may have an elaborate semi-public church wedding. Non-church members frequently go to some local minister for a private ceremony. Some go to the Justice of the Peace for a civil ceremony which is primarily a simplification of the sacred form. The passing of an individual from the society by death is recognized by sacred ritual.

Funerals are conducted by a minister either in a church or a funeral home. The ritual serves two purposes: to conduct the deceased safely from one existence to another and to offer condolences to the relatives, friends, and the society as a whole for the loss they have suffered. Even those who almost never go near a church and have skipped the other rites of passage will attend this ceremony for those who have died. Interment in "consecrated" ground concludes the ceremony.

The sacred symbol system of the church is to be found in many community activities and in most crises. Public meetings are given sacred sanction through the participation of members of the clergy. Organizations and lodges employ sacred symbolism in their ritual and activities. Many have a chaplain among their officers.

There is a ceremonial calendar in the community. It is reflected in the religious participation of the people. The seven day week and some key ceremonial dates in the calendar are based on religious doctrine. Some are quasi-religious, and others are simply events in American history that are memorialized. The whole cycle has religious, social, and economic significance. Much of it is secular in nature and may represent the general trend from sacred to secular, as seen in the shift from Holyday to Holiday.

The intensity of religious activity in the community follows a calendar cycle. During the fall and winter months there is an increase in attendance, reaching a peak at Christmas. In the next few months there is a slight decrease. During Lent, attendance grows and reaches the high point of the year on Easter Sunday. It gradually falls off to a low ebb in attendance occurring in midsummer. The key holidays of the year are New Year's, Easter, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. Of these, Christmas, Thanksgiving, Memorial Day, and Easter are sacred in origin--two basic in Christian theology, and two peculiar to American history.

#### Social Implications

Religion has an important impact on many phases of life and has several functions in the community. The church adds sanction and defines moral obligations for situations found in daily life. It is the carrier of the sacred and moral ideology of the community.

The church controls the habits of its members through indoctrination. This is accomplished not only in Sunday morning sermons, but through the Sunday School and the activities of church sponsored organizations. Where there is a large Catholic population, the children may be educated in a church sponsored educational system.

There is an American tradition of the separation of church and state. To many, a church weakens its spiritual position when it becomes involved in political activity. Likewise, any attempt of government to regulate religious activity, such as prayer in schools, arouses considerable controversy. In actual practice churches do take direct action in the community. They cooperate in fund raising drives for charitable and health organizations. They may lead a reform movement, or become involved in a social movement. Clergymen are frequently expected to be community leaders.

Religious diversity in America has grown out of two sources. The various peoples who settled in this country brought with them their religions. Secondly, although there are strong equalitarian beliefs in the Judaic-Christian tradition, churches are clearly influenced by the social structure. Some groups of people feel more at home in one church and others tend to associate more with other religions.

In summary, religion is the carrier of the basic beliefs and moral ideology. Various community and individual activities are associated with religious ritual. The variety of religions in America are inter-twined with the social structure.

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## THE ARUNTA

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## I. ECONOMICS: THE ARUNTA HOUSE

### Introduction

During the period of initial European exploration, Australia was populated by a dark skinned people who raised neither plants nor animals. Instead, their food supply consisted only of wild plants, which they gathered, and wild animals, which they hunted. For this reason they were called hunters and gatherers.

Many of these people still live in Australia today, and in much the same manner as they did then. They are referred to collectively as Aborigines. The Australian Aborigines are not all alike, but are divided into many tribes. For our studies we have chosen only one of these tribes: the Arunta, or as they are sometimes called, the Aranda.

This group lives in the very center of Australia, in an area appropriately called the Arunta Desert. (See picture Number 1) This area is very dry, receiving less than ten inches of rainfall per year -- less than one-fourth of the amount which falls annually in the Southeastern United States. Most of this rain comes during the months of November, December, January, and February. Since Australia is below the equator, and is tilted away from the sun during this period, these are the summer months with daytime temperatures seldom falling below sixty degrees. Even during the summer months, however, the nights are colder than the days. A sudden drop of twenty or more degrees often makes them seem uncomfortably cold.

### Culture: A Way of Adjusting

Culture is the way in which people adjust to their total setting. (C-1) Houses are a part of culture. People everywhere build some type of "house" in order to survive. (T-2) These "houses," however, vary according to the needs of the people. If we bear this in mind as we study the shelters of the Arunta, we will be surprised at how well these people have adjusted to their setting.

Only occasionally do the Arunta build a shelter which we would consider a house. This is dome-shaped structure made by using grass to thatch a framework of sticks. Since there are no people among the Arunta who specialize only in building houses, everyone in the household, including the children, works when a new hut is built. The mother and children gather sticks and long

dry grass. The father builds a framework with the longer sticks and thatches it with the grass. In a couple of hours a fire is built in front of the single opening which serves as a door, and the new house is ready for use. (See picture number 2.)

This simple house is only used during rainy periods, or when the group remains in one place for a period of time. The Arunta seldom stay in one place long enough to build such a house. Most of the time the people sleep out of doors, protected from the wind by a simple lean-to of shrubs and brush. A small fire which is kept burning all night protects them from the desert cold. Often on cold nights they sleep huddled so close to this fire that they are burned by the hot embers. (See picture number 3.)

#### Many Arunta Have Not Changed

Not all aborigines live in the manner that we have described. Some live in houses much like ours which were built for them by the European Australians. Many others, however, have refused to live in these houses, preferring to live the way in which their ancestors lived centuries before the coming of the Europeans. In order to see why this is true, we need to understand two anthropological concepts -- ethnocentrism and the interrelatedness of culture.

Ethnocentrism refers simply to the pride which we have in our way of doing things. All groups have ethnocentric beliefs. That is to say, every group of people in the world thinks that its way of doing things is the best. In the United States, we believe that our entire way of living is superior to that of the aborigine. We might not, however, be aware that the aborigine feels the same way about his way of life. As a striking illustration of this, we turn to another Australian group, the Tiwi. These people live on two small islands about twenty miles from the Northwest coast of Australia. While they differ in many respects from the Arunta, their way of life is basically the same. In the language of this group the word tiwi means "the People;" thus, anyone who does not look exactly like or act exactly like them is not a person. This includes not only other aborigines, but Americans and the rest of the world.

The interrelatedness of culture is the second concept which we should consider in trying to understand why many Arunta have refused to live in European-style houses. We have defined culture as the way in which people adjust to their total setting. We have also said that houses as well as the ways in which people obtain their food are parts of culture. There are many

other parts or aspects which fit together to make the whole, which we call culture. (C-2) While we can study any one of the aspects separately, (C-10) we must always bear in mind that they are all interrelated, and that we cannot change one without affecting the others. We may, for instance, describe the houses of the Arunta without describing the way in which these people get their food. We cannot, however, change their type of housing greatly without also affecting their methods of obtaining food.

The Arunta must move often in search of food. The area in which they live is so barren that they cannot stay in one location for more than a few days before they have consumed all the food that it has to offer. As we have seen, their housing is simple, easy to construct, and ideal for their way of life. If the Arunta lived in wooden or brick houses similar to ours, they certainly could not move them in their search for food. If they continued to obtain their food by hunting and gathering, they soon would have consumed all the food in their immediate surroundings. They would then be faced with starvation. We can easily see that a change in house type would require a change in the method of obtaining food. This, however, is not the only change which would have to be made. Since all of culture is interrelated, a change in one aspect must necessarily affect all other aspects. (C-6)

In light of these facts we are less likely to be surprised when the Arunta or any other group fails to quickly adopt things from our culture which we feel would greatly benefit them. We are also less likely to deplore a particular part of another culture until we have stopped to investigate the rest of that culture in order to see how that part fits into the total culture. The Arunta have a very simple system of housing, but a closer look shows us that it is the type which is best suited to their way of living.

## II. ECONOMICS: TECHNOLOGY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

### Culture and Technology

Anthropologists define technology as the sum of the techniques of a particular society. A technique is the way in which something is done. (T-1) The way in which a house is built is a technique. When anthropologists talk about the technology of a group, however, they discuss not only the way in which a house is built but also the house itself. For this reason, when we mention technology we will be referring to both the object and the way in which it is made or used. If the anthropologist wishes to make a distinction between the object and the technique by which it is made, he refers to the object as an artifact. This term is defined as any material object produced by human effort. The house, then, is an artifact.

We have said that a house is a part of both culture and technology. It is obvious that these are closely related. They are not, however, the same. Culture is much broader than technology. It includes not only technology, but things such as values and beliefs which are not a part of technology.

All of culture can be divided into small parts or units called traits. (C-10) The house, the way in which it is made or used, and even the attitudes of its owner about it are individual traits. (C-6) Those traits which we can actually touch, such as the house, are called material traits. Traits which we cannot touch, such as methods of making, using, or attitudes about the house are called non-material traits.

It is sometimes necessary to refer to a group of traits collectively. This may be done in several ways. A person, for instance, may wish to refer to all of the material traits of a particular group. In such a case he would say that he was referring to the material culture of that group. The term complex is often used to refer to all of the traits (material and/or non-material) concerned with a particular object. Consider, for example, a mechanical pencil. We may think of the mechanical pencil as a single trait. On the other hand we may wish to consider it as a collection of individual traits. In this case we could consider the lead, eraser, body, etc., as individual traits and the pencil itself as a complex. The distinction between a trait and a complex, is relative and depends entirely on the user.

### Artifacts Limited by Economy

It would be difficult to list all of the material traits in American culture. Performing the same task with Arunta culture would be much easier. (C-2) These people have so few material traits that they could all be listed on this page with room to spare. The reason for this can be found in their nomadic hunting and gathering economy. They must be able to carry their belongings with them each time that they move. (See picture Number 4.) The fact that the Arunta have no animals to carry these belongings means that they must actually be able to carry them themselves. This, as we can easily see, limits the number of their possessions.

The major task facing any individual is survival. (C-4) Very few people in America are actually worried about surviving from day to day. This is not the case for the Arunta. Because of the barren land where they live, merely getting enough food is a major problem. (E-1) At least one-half of their waking hours are directly concerned with providing enough food for survival. Most of their possessions are designed to aid them in the search for food. (E-5)

Since the Arunta can only have a few tools, many of these must have more than one use in the struggle for survival. (T-5) An excellent example of this is the spear thrower. This is a device which gives added leverage to the arm when throwing a spear. With it, a man can throw a spear farther and with greater force than he could by using only his arm. (See picture Number 5). This alone would make the spear thrower an important tool, but the Arunta put it to two additional uses. By attaching a stone point to the handle, the spear thrower becomes a chisel with which to make new tools. (See picture Number 8.) The Arunta do not have matches to start their fires. Instead, they produce fire by rubbing the edge of the spear thrower back and forth across a small wooden shield. In a remarkably short period of time, enough heat has been produced to start the necessary fire. In this manner one basic artifact has been made to serve three purposes and thus reduce the load which must be carried by the individual. This is a remarkable amount of ingenuity, indeed, for a primitive group.

### Tools for Food

We have said that the Arunta are limited in their possessions to those which they can carry with them. We have also seen that each of these artifacts may have more than one important use in the everyday life of an individual. We shall now examine some of the artifacts which an individual would carry with him. Actually,

we must consider two groups of artifacts, those carried by men and those carried by women. (See picture Number 6) Since men and women do not perform the same tasks, they do not need the same tools.

The male normally carries from twenty to twenty-five pounds of belongings. This includes one or more spears, a spear thrower, a wooden shield, and one or more boomerangs or throwing clubs. Around his waist the Arunta male wears a braided belt of human hair. It was made by the man's mother-in-law of her own hair. A stone axe and a small pouch containing shell or stone tools and ritual objects are attached to this belt.

Unless she is carrying a child, the load of a woman is only about half that carried by the man. (E-3) This includes a pointed digging stick, a long shallow wooden bowl, and a net bag in which food and other small articles may be carried. (See picture Number 5)

Before the coming of the Europeans, tools such as spears and axes were made with stone points. (T-1) Since its introduction, steel has had wide acceptance. We often make the mistake of thinking that steel tools are much sharper than those made of stone. This is not necessarily so. Stone tools may be as sharp as a piece of broken glass. There are, for instance, places in Mexico today where people shave with stone razors. The advantage of steel is its durability. Whereas the stone tool can be used for only a few times before it must be replaced, the steel tool can be sharpened and used again and again.

The boomerang is probably the most widely known artifact used by the Arunta. (See picture Number 12.) Although it is found in several other parts of the world, early European writers were so fascinated by a weapon which would return to its thrower that the boomerang has become the trade mark of the Aborigines. Actually the boomerang is only one of several types of throwing clubs used by the Aborigines. Not even all boomerangs are designed to return to their throwers. Essentially the boomerang is a flat weapon several feet in length, made from a root in which the correct curve has been naturally formed. It is used in fighting and in hunting smaller animals. Although the Arunta do not understand aerodynamics they do know that if they make one side of the boomerang concave while leaving the other side flat they can produce a weapon which will return to its thrower.

#### House Furnishings and Clothing

An important group of traits usually associated with protection from the climate are those concerned with housing and clothing. (T-2) In our discussion of Arunta housing, we failed to mention

house furnishings. You have probably already guessed the reason for this omission. The Arunta have no furniture. Not only must they sit and sleep on the ground, but they sleep without coverings on the coldest nights. The fact that the Arunta do not use animal fur for covering or clothing is quite unusual. It may well be due to the fact that they have no cooking utensils, but instead, prepare their meat by cooking the animal in its skin. As a result of this the skin is ruined for further use. (See picture Number 10)

There are at least three reasons why people wear clothing. (T-3) These are for protection, for decoration, and for the sake of modesty. Of the three reasons given, clothing worn for decoration is the most nearly universal. (C-8) It is for this reason that the Arunta wear clothing. Even this clothing, or body decoration, is worn only on ceremonial occasions, and serves to indicate social position. Normally the Arunta wears so little that we would consider him naked.

### III. ECONOMICS: EARNING A LIVING

The way in which any group makes its living is a combination of three things: technology, resources, and work. (E-1) Let us examine the way in which these are combined in Arunta society.

#### Obtaining Food

Members of the Arunta society arise at dawn to begin their search for the food necessary for their survival. (E-3) Men, women, and children are all involved in this search. However, they do not all work together. Instead they are divided into groups based on age and sex. Each of these groups has its own task to perform.

The women use their digging sticks to search for roots and burrowing animals, such as lizards and small pouched mammals. (T-4) (The kangaroo is not the only pouched mammal in Australia. There are many species of Metatherian mammals to be found there. These range from the size of a field mouse up to the 150 pound kangaroo.) The women are very expert in their work, knowing exactly where to dig in order to find the type of food for which they are looking.

The children also work to obtain the family's food. (E-3) Sometimes the girls help their mothers, and the boys hunt for small animals using spears and spear throwers which are similar to, but smaller than, the ones which their fathers use. At other times, the boys and girls search for witchetty grubs or honey ants, which are eaten without being cooked. The latter are much larger than our ants and receive their name from the sweet liquid which is found in their abdomens. Older boys may also rob the nests of honey bees. This is not an unpleasant task, because the Australian bee cannot sting.

The hunting of larger animals, which is done by the men, is the most interesting event taking place. It is, however, of less importance as a source of food than gathering. This is often true in hunting and gathering societies.

Normally the men hunt in a small group of from two to five persons. (See picture Number 9.) Before beginning the hunt, the hunters will smear mud over their bodies. This is to help eliminate their body odor so that the animals will not smell them and be frightened away. The group walks along casually until an animal is sighted. Then the group becomes silent, communicating with each other by means of hand signals. The best hunter will move to a position down wind from the kangaroo so that he will not be detected

by the animal's sense of smell. The remaining hunters will move in the opposite direction hoping to be detected by the animal, but being careful not to frighten him. Usually the kangaroo will move away from these men in the direction of the lone hunter, who stands motionless, waiting for the animal to get close enough for him to hurl his long spear. With the aid of his spear thrower, an Arunta man can kill a kangaroo at a distance of twenty to thirty yards.

If the kangaroo does not come within range, the hunter is forced to stalk it. With his eyes always on the animal, the hunter begins his approach. When the kangaroo is not looking, he quickly moves forward a few yards. If the animal looks in his direction, the hunter stands motionless, appearing to blend into the landscape. When the animal begins to eat or look away, the hunter again darts forward. This activity (similar to our game, "Red Light") continues until the hunter is close enough to hurl his spear.

A great amount of patience and skill is necessary to hunt in his manner. The slightest wrong move can cause the animal to hurry off in the opposite direction, forcing the hunter to return home empty handed.

Once the kangaroo or other animal has been killed it must be prepared for eating. If the people are very hungry, only a minimum amount of preparation is necessary. Normally, the animal is cooked rather well. The method of cooking appears strange to us at first, but if we remember that the Arunta have no cooking utensils we see its practicality. The fur (not skin) and bony paws are removed. The animal is then placed in a pit and covered with hot ashes. The meat then cooks in the skin in much the same manner as meat in a pressure cooker. (See picture Number 10.) After the meat has cooked it is divided into portions and given to various members of the group. This principle of distributing a part of his kill assures the hunter of meat on days when he has not killed anything.

#### Technology, Resources, and Work

We mentioned at the beginning of this description that the way in which technology, resources, and work are combined is the economy of a society. We have previously discussed Arunta technology noting that it is very simple in comparison to most other societies.

Resources are those parts of the natural habitat which are actually used by a particular society. Examples of resources used by the Arunta are to wood and stone used for tools, and the

plants and animals used for food. The key to this definition is the word "used". Anthropologists do not consider anything a resource of a society unless it is actually used by that society. Thus if there were oil in Australia and the Arunta did not make use of it, then it would not be a resource of the Arunta. If, however, their technology increased to the point where they could use oil, it would then become one of their natural resources. We can see that resources and technology are closely related. We might even say that the resources of a group will increase as its technology increases.

Work is also an important factor in the economy of a group. If an individual lived alone he would have to provide everything necessary for survival by his own effort. But, since the human is a social being, he is normally a member of a group. As a member of a group he does not perform all of the tasks necessary for his survival. Instead he shares some of these tasks with others. (E-3) In Arunta society, for instance, both plants and animals supply the food necessary for survival. The same person, however, does not supply both types of food. Instead, men hunt animals and women gather plants. Anthropologists refer to this sharing of tasks as division of labor. Some form of division of labor is found in all societies. (E-3) In smaller groups such as the Arunta this division may be based only on age and sex. In larger societies, such as ours, this division becomes very complex, with each individual performing only one specialized task.

#### A Householding System

The household in our society is usually not a producing, but a consuming unit. The Arunta household is a complete economic unit. It manufactures its own tools, and produces and consumes its own food. This is the simplest type of economic system and is often referred to by anthropologists as a householding system. (E-2)

#### IV. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: THE ARUNTA HOUSEHOLD

Because they do not produce enough food to support large populations, most hunting and gathering societies are forced to live in small groups spread sparsely over the land. (T-5) A poor environment is only partially responsible for this lack of productivity. Of equal or greater importance are the methods used to produce food. We need only to compare the Arunta with the Europeans living in the same area to see this. Anthropologists agree that while the environment is limiting a force to any group, (C-2) this limitation is overcome as technology increases. Thus, the Arunta are forced to live in small groups because their technology is insufficient to produce enough food to support larger groups.

##### Characteristics of the Household

The household is the largest group in Arunta society which can live together for an extended period. (K-2) This group usually centers around a single nuclear family, i.e., a man, his wife, and his children. (See picture Number 11) However, the nuclear family is not the same thing as the household. Just as persons other than our immediate family often live in our homes, persons other than the nuclear family often are part of the Arunta household. The household, then, includes not only the family, but any other person who lives more or less permanently with the family.

As you might expect, the household in a hunting and gathering society performs many of the tasks which are given to specialized groups in larger societies. We have already discussed the role of the household in Arunta economics. Its members are not dependent on outside sources for the food which they consume. Instead, they both produce and consume this food, thus forming a complete economic unit. As a general rule the household will carry out any function which is not specifically given to another group. For example, in our society the school largely assumes the responsibility of education, whereas, in societies without schools this responsibility falls on the household.

##### Learning a Culture

We have discussed the role of culture in the survival of the individual. There is, however, a second aspect of culture which has not been discussed. This is the role which culture plays in the survival of groups. Any group, whether large or small, must have rules of conduct for the individuals who compose it. These rules may be written into laws, or remain unwritten and thought of as values and customs. Since the Arunta do not have a written language, all of their rules belong to this second group.

No one is born with a knowledge of the rules of his society. Actually, at birth a child is capable of learning any culture. As he grows, however, he learns the culture of his society by a process known as enculturation. Once mature the individual knows this culture so well that its values and customs seem the only "natural and proper" rules of behavior.

The enculturation of an Arunta child is an informal process. A girl will learn quickly how to gather and prepare food by helping her mother perform these tasks. Even games are an important part of the education of an Arunta child. Boys playing with their "toy" spears and spear throwers are in reality learning skills which will enable them to survive as adults. (See picture Number 12) At night when the household sits around the fire, the child becomes aware of the behavior expected of him by listening to his elders criticize those who have broken the rules of behavior.

### Social Control

Criticism is important in the Arunta social organization. (P-3) In America we have written laws with a police system to enforce them and courts to punish those who break them. The Arunta have no such formal system to enforce their values and customs. They do, however, have the problem of enforcing them in some manner. Otherwise, their society would soon fall apart through quarrels and disagreements. In order to solve this problem they have developed a system similar to our rules of etiquette. The punishment for not observing the rules of etiquette is criticism. Almost everyone will agree that this can be a really harsh punishment. This is especially true in a small group, such as a household.

In order to understand how the Arunta system of etiquette works, it is necessary to know a basic fact about that society. This is that, theoretically, everyone is kin to everyone else. (K-1) Just as we behave differently toward certain relatives, the Arunta behaves toward everyone according to his kinship class. In other words, rules similar to those which control behavior in our families have been extended to control the behavior of the entire Arunta society.

Imagine how difficult it would be to learn the behavior required toward each member of a family of several thousand. The Arunta have solved this problem by grouping individuals into classes. These classes are based on kinship and age. This is much the same system which we use when we group our father's and mother's brothers together and call each of them uncle. The behavior accorded a person depends on his class. For instance, a father and his brothers are all in the same class. Thus, a son of any one of these men would call them all by the same name and treat them in the same manner. Another class consists of all of the women from which a man may choose a wife. All of these women are referred to by the

same term which is used for the woman he does marry. We would continue in this manner until all of the basic classes in Arunta society are exhausted.

## V. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: THE ARUNTA COMMUNITY

### Autonomous Local Groups

Individual Arunta households are combined to form a larger social unit. (P-2) This larger group, in Arunta society, is referred to as the local group. As the name implies, this local group does not include the entire Arunta tribe. It refers, instead, to a small group of households within this total group. The member households are all located in a specific territory and bound together by the kinship system.

The local group is completely autonomous. There is nothing in the Arunta social organization comparable to our federal government. This is to say that the Arunta have no organization at the tribal level. The Arunta tribe is actually nothing more than a number of individual local groups which have language, customs, rites, and beliefs in common, and who live together in a specific section of Australia.

### A Nomadic Group

The Aborigines have been described as nomadic, in that that they wander from place to place without any single permanent home. This statement may give the wrong impression unless it is qualified. No group wanders freely over an unlimited territory. Every group known to anthropologists lives within a specific territory. (P-3) In addition, all nomadic groups follow a clearly defined cycle in their wanderings. That is to say, they will return again and again to the same camping area. The length of this cycle, however, varies from group to group. Some groups may take only a few weeks to complete the cycle; others may require as many as fifty years. The point is, that each Arunta local group has a specific territory over which its individual households wander--a territory so well defined that an outsider is not allowed to enter it without permission.

The territory of the local group has an important religious significance for its inhabitants. It is believed to be the residence of mythological ancestors. This belief will be better understood after an examination of the kinship system.

### Arunta Kinship

Among the Arunta there is a strong relationship between the men in each family. Because of this relationship, a man asked to name his ancestors will begin with his father, his father's father, and continue in this manner. (See picture Number 13) He will completely ignore his mother and her relations, to whom he does not feel closely related. He does, however, feel a close relationship

to the sisters of his male kinsmen. These would be his aunts, sisters, daughters, and so on. One of these women, when relating her kinship, will name her brother, and then continue in the same manner as he would. A kinship system such as this, where the descent is traced through only one parent, is said to be unilineal (one line). All of the members of a unilineal kinship system who can trace their relationship to a common ancestor from a lineage. When this line of descent follows the father's lineage it is called patrilineal. We are patrilineal when we take our father's family name.

The Arunta local group is a lineage. Like most lineages, however, it contains one class of individuals who cannot claim kin to the common ancestor. These are the wives of the men in the group. A man must marry a woman of a different kinship class. This means that he must look outside of his local group to find a wife. Conversely, female members of his local group will marry men from other local groups and move to the husband's group. This system of marrying outside one's own kinship group is known as exogamy. Some form of exogamy is practiced in all societies.

#### The Thread of Arunta Society

While the social organization of the Arunta is quite different from ours, it has solved the same basic problem, namely, man's relations with other men. As we have seen, these relations are based on a system which for lack of a better word, we have called etiquette. The foundation for this system of etiquette lies in the most basic type of human relationship--the relations between members of a family. (K-1) This relationship is the thread which binds all aspects of Arunta society--social, economic, and religious.

Even though they are strong only at the household level in our society, kinship relations function adequately at the larger local group level for the Arunta. While there is no real organization above the local group level, this system if used to establish relations between Aborigines wherever they meet. Indeed, the common greeting throughout Australia, quickly establishes the proper relationship between two individuals who may have never met before--"Who was your father's father?"

## VI. RELIGION

### Religion is Universal

All societies have some form of religious system. (R-6) The Arunta are no exception. Discussion of these systems, however, often becomes extremely difficult. By their very nature religious systems are surrounded by the most ethnocentric of our beliefs. The task of the anthropologist is not to make moral judgments, but to compare these systems with impartiality. (R-7) He is interested in the elements which are common to all of these systems and to the role which the religious system itself plays in the organization of society. (R-2)

### Totems and Totemism

A totem is an animal, plant, or object associated with a particular group, whose members feel that they are descended from it. The sum of the beliefs and practices connected with totems is called totemism. Totemism is not a religion, although it does function in a manner similar to that of religious systems.

A number of individuals who believe that they are descended from the same totem form a totemic group. This group can be distinguished from the lineage in that no direct biological relationship can be traced to the mythological ancestor, or totem, of its members.

An Arunta becomes a member of a totemic group before he is born. The totem itself is believed to be responsible for his conception. There is some doubt whether the Arunta even realize the part played by the husband in the conception of children. When a woman becomes expectant with child, the old men of the group, who serve as leaders by virtue of their experience, decide what the child's name will be and to which of several totemic groups he will belong. The mother is never aware of the child's ritual name and he himself will not be told until he reaches puberty and becomes initiated into the group. When an individual dies, his spirit is believed to remain in the territory of the local group near his totemic ancestor.

### Totemic Groups

We have seen that belief in the supernatural is a feature of the Arunta totemic group. Although it is not necessarily a prerequisite, such a belief is found in most religions. (R-3)

There are additional similarities between the Arunta totemic groups and our religious institutions.

Each totemic group has stories or myths which are believed to explain its origin and history. These myths help to explain the unknown, i.e., how man came to be on the earth. In addition to explaining the unknown, most religious systems give their members a sense of control over the unknown. Totemism helps to give the Arunta this sense of control. Every year the members of each totemic group must perform certain rituals as a part of their obligation to their particular totem. (See picture Number 14) Since each of these totems is a plant or animal which is usually a source of food, the rituals give the Arunta confidence that their food supply will be plentiful. (See picture Number 15) (R-1)

The totemic groups, however, have roles other than those generally associated with religious institutions. (R-2) They are, for instance, of economic importance. During the time in which the totemic rituals are held, households representing several local groups camp together. These different gifts are usually in the form of items which are exchanged in the form of gifts. These gifts are usually in the form of items which are not found in the local territory, thus giving each local group access to materials which it would not otherwise have.

The totemic groups also play a role in the process of enculturation. At puberty all children receive special instruction in the myths of their particular totem in the form of initiation ceremonies. These ceremonies represent another time when several households are gathered together. Initiation gatherings, however, are not as large as those connected with the totemic rituals.

While both boys and girls must be initiated, the initiation of the boys is much longer and more complicated than that of the girls. In addition to receiving instruction in the customs and mythology of his totemic group, he must prove his courage by submitting to various ordeals. (See picture Number 16) Once the individual has completed his initiation, however, he is no longer a child but an adult and is given the privileges and responsibilities of this position.

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THE KAZAK  
(Background Materials for Teachers)

Grade One  
Concept of Culture

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## THE KAZAK

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## I. THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

The Kazak are nomadic pastoralists. The ethnographic description of their culture is representative of a type which is widely distributed in the dry lands of the world where the technology is primarily pastoral. This description of the nomadism of pastoralists should be contrasted with the nomadism of a group of hunter-gatherers, described in "The Arunta."

### The Kazak People

The Kazak<sup>1</sup> form the largest division of the Turkic-speaking pastoral nomads. They, together with a similar group called the Kirghiz, numbered 3,100,000 in 1939. This is a little less than the population of the state of Georgia in the United States. Even though these people live in the south central part of the Soviet Union, they are not Russians. Most of them do not even speak Russian, but speak their own language. In this way, they are like some Indians in the United States, who are part of our country, but who do not speak English. The Kazak became part of the Soviet Union because the Russians defeated them in battle, much like the Indians in the United States, who were conquered by force.

The Kazak are short in stature, stocky in build, with yellow skin and coarse, generally black hair. They are in general Mongoloid in race, but the Mongoloid elements are frequently modified. For example, the Mongolian eyefold is often absent. These characteristics suggest that the Kazak represent an interbreeding of the Mongoloid with an Alpine type of the Caucasoid race.

### The Geographic Environment

The Kazaks live in the south central part of the Soviet Union, in an area that generally corresponds to the territory that is today organized as Kazakhstan, a constituent republic of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (See large map.) This area extends eastward from the Volga River to the Tien Shan-Altai mountains, a distance of about 1400 miles, it extends from the Caspian and Aral Seas, north 800 miles to the southern edge of the Siberian forests. This would be comparable in size with that portion of the United States bounded by the Gulf coast on the south, the southern edge of the Great Lakes on the north, the Atlantic coast of Georgia on the east and the edge of the Rocky mountains on the west.

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<sup>1</sup>The names "Kazak" and "Cossack" are often confused. The Cossack were Slavic peoples of southern Russia and have no relation to the Kazak.

In an area of this size, there is naturally much local variation of environment. The area as a whole is much like the northern plains in the western United States except that it does not rain as much. The chief characteristic of the southern plains of the Soviet Union, called the steppe, is its bareness. There is a moderately thick carpet of grass and herbs, but almost no trees except in the widely separated river valleys and on the slopes of the bordering mountains.

The area is characterized by scanty rainfall averaging 13 inches per year along the northern edge and 6 to 8 inches per year in the area around the Caspian and Aral Seas. The rainfall and temperature range may be compared with the plains area of Wyoming in this country. Rain is more abundant and dependable in the northern part than in the south where the dry steppe gradually merges into semi-desert and then into true desert. Most of the rain falls in the early spring, causing the grass to grow rapidly. In mid-summer, the combination of lack of rain and high temperatures causes most of the grass to die. The fall rains revive the grass which grows rapidly until the beginning of winter. Just as the summer is very hot, the winter is very cold with the average daily temperature in January below 16° Fahrenheit. The open country provides little or no shelter from the strong winds of the Siberian winter or from the scorching heat of summer.

The pastoral life of the Kazak is a particular cultural adaptation to the dry climate in which they live.

#### Cultural Modification and the Traditional Dry Climate Pastoralism

Under the Communist regime, many cultural innovations have taken place among the Kazak as the territory and the people have been progressively integrated into the Soviet economy. Recently, Kazakhstan has been one of the areas in which an attempt has been made to extend Russian dry farming. This extension of agriculture into new lands was popularized under Khrushchev as a program for the "conquest of the virgin lands." Over the years, many Kazak in the northern part of the territory, where there is more rainfall, have adapted to a sedentary life of agriculture and stock raising. In the south, where there is less rain, the Kazak still live by herding animals although even here the traditional life has been greatly modified.

The description of a traditional dry climate pastoralism and the manners and customs of the Kazak in succeeding chapters is based on a description of Kazak life about fifty to seventy-five years ago. In this description, the present tense, called the ethnographic present, is used. It is a technique used to describe a culture in a particular moment of time and does not imply that the culture as described remains the same today.

## II. ECONOMICS: MATERIAL CULTURE -- HOUSES

The Kazaks have two separate and distinct house types. The first is a tent, the shelter for wandering with the grazing herds during the warm weather months, and a simple house of stone or turf, the shelter in the permanent camp of the winter months. Some Kazak, however, live in tents the year round.

### The Warm Weather Months: Life in the Tent

Nomadic people generally construct either simple shelters which may be abandoned, as the Arunta do, or shelters which can be carried with them when they move, as the Kazaks do. Normally, only sedentary peoples such as the Americans build elaborate houses in which they can live a long time in one place. Even though the Kazak's houses are different from those of the Americans, they serve many of the same functions. The house protects the Kazaks from the elements of weather: the wind, cold, heat, and dust. And it serves as a place to store and protect their food.

Since the Kazaks must move from place to place with their sheep, they have learned to make a kind of house that they can carry with them when they move. Their house can be more elaborate than the house of the Arunta, since the Kazaks have horses to carry their belongings, whereas the Arunta must personally carry everything they own.

The Kazak's house, which is called a yurt, has been described by one anthropologist as "the finest portable dwelling ever devised." The yurt is a kind of round tent about 20 feet across, with walls four to five feet high. These walls are formed by making a circular lattice of sticks tied together. Other sticks are tied from the walls to a hoop of wood at the center of the tent to make a roof. (See picture Number 1.) This roof looks like the top of an umbrella. The roof and walls are covered by large pieces of felt. (See picture Number 2.) It is very thick and keeps the tent warm and dry in cold weather. There are no windows in the tent, but an opening is left in the wall for a door. To close the opening there is a curtain of felt that can be rolled up. Also, the felt covering the sides of the tent can be rolled up so that fresh air can blow through the tent.

In cold weather, a space of bare ground is left in the center of the tent so that a fire can be made to cook on and to warm the tent. A small circular hole is left in the center of the roof so that the smoke from the fire can escape. This small hole is closed at night when the fire goes out so that the tent will stay warm. The hole is also closed when it rains or snows.

When the Kazak are ready to move to another place, the felt cloth

is taken off the tent, rolled up, and placed on a horse. The sticks that hold up the felt are untied, packed on a horse, and then everyone moves to a new place where there is more grass for the sheep. (T-5) When the Kazak relocates at another grazing spot, everyone is busy. (E-3) The men unload the horses and take care of them. Since the men are busy, the women and children put up the tent. Even though the yurt is quite elaborate, it can be reassembled or taken down in about a half an hour. Most people in the United States have not learned to set up tents, because we have no need to set up tents. But in Kazak land, where everyone is constantly moving during the summer, and where it is important to set up and take down tents rapidly, everyone learns to do it.

#### The Cold Weather Months: Life in Permanent Houses

In the winter from November to about mid-April, the Kazak move to their winter pastures, preferably in deep river valleys where trees give some protection to the sheep from the cold wind. Each clan has a permanent winter camp, despite its summer wanderings. Since they spend the entire winter in the same place every year, most find it practical to build small permanent houses.

Although the winter houses can be built of stones, wood or turf, most of them are built of turf since there is plenty of grass and a scarcity of other materials. Turf, or sod, consists of squares of grass with the soil attached to the roots. The turf is stacked to build walls nearly a yard thick. A roof is made by spanning the walls with timbers and covering this with sticks and then layers of turf. Turf houses are low, because turf walls cannot be stacked very high. To make the ceilings higher, without raising the height of the turf walls, the Kazak dig out the floor below ground level. Turf houses are very warm, because the thick dirt walls are good insulation against the cold. (See picture Number 3.)

One or two openings in walls are covered with animal membranes to let in light. The small doorway is hung with heavy felt, and the walls are lined with felt rugs hanging from pegs driven into the walls. A fire pit made of clay is close to the entrance.

Close by the main house are small huts which are occupied by other members of the household, or shelter weak sheep or food stores. Around the house and huts, a high wall of turf is built, with a light roof projecting inward from the wall. This provides shelter for other livestock.

### III. ECONOMICS: MATERIAL CULTURE - HANDICRAFTS, CLOTHING, AND FURNISHINGS

Kazak material culture is limited and, in comparison with that of Americans, might be considered poor and primitive. Their material culture, however, is adapted to their nomadic pastoral economy. For example, their tents are much simpler than American houses and contain little furniture. The Kazak could not use most of the things that Americans own, however, for heavy appliances and furniture could not be carried on the backs of animals in their frequent moves. (C-8)

#### Kazaks Barter for Things They Do Not Produce

Since the Kazak technology is based on the herding of animals, they find it preferable to barter for goods which would be difficult for them to produce. (E-2) They trade sheep, sheep skins, felt, and wool for such items as pots, pans, knives, rifles, needles, thread, and cloth. Much of their trading is for objects made from metal.

#### Kazak Handicrafts

The Kazak do know how to weave cloth and work metal. (T-1, T-11) In fact, some Kazak men make beautiful decorations of silver and copper to put on the saddles of their horses. (See picture Number 4.) The women often weave bright colored belts and straps. (See picture Number 5.) (E-6)

#### Clothing

With the cloth, needles, and thread obtained from the townspeople, the Kazak women make clothes for the entire family. (C-3, E-3) The Kazak men and women wear a long padded woolen coat with wide sleeves and a narrow collar. (T-3) This coat is long enough to reach to their ankles or knees. In cold weather they may wear three or four of these long coats. As a result, they look very fat. This thick clothing is very warm.

The women may wear dresses when the weather is warm, but when it is cold, both men and women wear wide thick wool pants which they tuck into tall boots reaching to their knees. These boots are somewhat like cowboy boots since they are more comfortable to wear when riding than when walking. The boots have pointed toes and sharp iron heels, so the rider can more easily keep his foot in a stirrup. When they ride on a long journey, the Kazak wear heavy leather pants to protect their legs. On their heads, the women wear a heavy scarf and the men wear a large black lambskin cap.

In addition to the clothes made of cloth, the women make short jackets of sheep skin, which everyone wears over their long cloth

coats in very cold weather. To make these, the women take the skin of sheep that have been killed for food, and treat the skin so that it can be preserved. (See picture Number 6). This will also help to make the skin soft and waterproof. The Kazak's everyday clothes have little decoration, but the women embroider intricate patterns on their best clothes and on felt rugs. (E-6)

#### Making Implements of Wood, Leather, and Hair

The men braid rope out of horse hair and make straps and lines from horse hide. They also make a device to catch horses. Instead of throwing a rope like farmers and ranchers do in the United States, the Kazak men tie a loop of rope at the end of a long stick. With this they reach out and loop the rope over the horse's head. The men also make the wooden frames for the tents, wooden boxes, and leather boxes and bags for storing food, and wooden bowls for serving food.

#### Making Felt

The most important product that the Kazak make, both for domestic use and for sale, is felt. Felt is a thick cloth made from wool, in which the loose hairs are pressed together without spinning and weaving, as in a woven woolen cloth. While felt is thicker and stronger than woven woolens, it is less adaptable to clothes making than are woven woolens, because felt is very stiff. The Kazaks use felt to cover the Yurt or tent and for rugs to cover the ground inside.

To get the wool, the sheep are shorn in the early fall, while the weather is still warm. This gives the hair on the sheep time to grow out before the onset of cold weather. Prior to shearing, the sheep are driven through a stream or lake to remove the dirt from the wool. After shearing, the wool is packed in bales until needed for felting or sold to townspeople.

Making felt takes a lot of time, but it is usually a festive time for the Kazak, particularly the young men and women. (E-1, E-5) First, the wool is spread out over hides and beaten with wooden laths by a group of young men and women, so as to separate the hairs. The wool is further plucked by hand, thoroughly dampened, and spread out thickly and evenly over a large straw mat. A second straw mat is placed over the wool, making a kind of wool sandwich between the two straw mats.

The mats are then rolled up like a rug and tightly tied. (See picture Number 7). The feltmakers then divide into two groups and sit facing each other. The rolled up mats are placed between them and they push it back and forth between them with their feet. This rolling of the wool lasts for an hour or more. By this time the wool is packed closely together. The mats are then unrolled and the packed wool is beaten by hand to press it together more tightly.

### House Furnishings and Utensils

Although the Kazak live in tents and have few possessions by our standards, it must not be supposed that their homes are uncomfortable. (C-5) To make their homes more comfortable, the ground inside the tent is covered with pieces of felt and then with felt rugs. The walls are covered with reed matting decorated with wool, and rugs are placed on the dome of the tent, underneath the felt covering, with the pattern downward, so that it may be seen from inside the tent. In cold weather, the tent is heated by a fire built in a pit in the ground in the center of the tent. A hole in the roof is left open to allow the smoke to escape. This hole is covered at night after the fire dies down or in bad weather. Around the fire pit can be found copper pots, wooden platters and leather containers. In the larger tents, a space on the right side of the fire is screened off by reed partitions to serve as a kitchen.

The people sleep on the rug covered floor between blankets of felt or sheep skin and use pillows made from sheep's wool. In the daytime, these are rolled up and placed out of the way against the walls of the tent. (See picture Number 8.) Sometimes a large low platform of planks is built at the back of the tent. This is covered with layers of felt up to 12 inches in thickness and serves as a couch in the daytime and a very comfortable bed at night. Portions of the walls of the tent are lined with leather and wooden boxes containing grain, sugar, tea, and leather bags containing cheese, butter, and milk.

#### IV. ECONOMICS. EARNING A LIVING

The Kazak are called pastoral people because their productive economy and way of life focus on the rearing of animals which furnish the bulk of their food. (T-5) Like most pastorals, the Kazaks' herds provide much more than just food. The hides and hair of the sheep are used to make clothing and shelter, while the horses provide a means of transportation (T-6) as well as food. Most of the things that the Kazak need are furnished by their herds, and their entire lives are centered around caring for these animals. In assisting in caring for the herds of horses and sheep, each member of the household has a different task to perform. This division of labor depends on age and sex. (E-3)

##### Caring for the Sheep

The task of caring for sheep is assigned to the boys. Sheep make up the greater part of a Kazak household's livestock. Relatively easy to tend, the sheep are pastured in flocks of a thousand or more. The horses are too valuable to use in sheep herding, so the shepherd boy usually rides an ox or yak. (See picture Number 9.) The boys drive the sheep away from camp to pasture in the morning and herd them back in the late afternoon. Those sheep which are to be milked are driven only a short distance from the Kazak camp in the morning and returned at midday and in the evening for milking by the women. (See picture Number 10.)

The Kazak keep small numbers of goats with their herds of sheep, and milk them with the sheep. The Kazak believe that the goats protect the flocks of sheep from the attacks of wild animals. Also, some Kazak have a few cows. The cows give more milk than sheep, but the Kazak have learned that cows often die during the cold winters and that during the hot summers they have trouble finding enough grass to eat. Therefore, the Kazak do not keep many cows.

##### Making Butter and Cheese

The women milk the animals and prepare food, while the male members of the household care for the herds. Since the Kazak do not have any means of keeping milk cool, they do not drink fresh milk. The milk is allowed to sour and then churned into butter or made into cheese. Butter and cheese can be kept a long time without refrigeration. During the winter and early spring months, when the sheep do not give milk, the Kazak eat the butter and cheese made during the summer. (E-6) The women also make a special soft cheese that can be mashed up in water and drunk instead of milk.

### Caring for the Horses

The young men of the household care for the horse herds which are kept separate from the sheep. The horses are divided into small herds of 15 to 20 horses, and a rich Kazak may have many such small herds. The young men also train horses for riding. The horses are much smaller than Arabian or European breeds. (See picture Number 11.) Since the horses are small, each one is ridden for only a short period of time and is then returned to the herd to rest while another horse is ridden. In addition to being ridden, the horses are used as pack animals when camp is moved.

The mares, or female horses, are not ridden, but are kept for the colts and milk they produce. In the early spring, when the colts are born, the mares give much more milk than the colts need. The men milk the mares and make a special drink, called kumiss, from the milk. Because of the very high sugar content, it will keep indefinitely without refrigeration.

In the southern part of Kazak land, where the land is semi-desert, the Kazak keep a few camels in addition to the herds of horses. The camels can carry greater loads than the horses. In some of the mountainous parts of western Kazak land, the Kazak use a yak, a domesticated mountain ox covered with long, wavy hair, especially adapted to the rare cold atmosphere of the central Asian highlands. In addition to providing milk, the yak is used to carry people and packs when the Kazak move.

### Protecting Livestock - The Necessity of a Yearly Cycle of Migration

A Kazak household is well fed and well clothed only if its herds of sheep and horses are large and healthy. (T-5) The care of the horses and sheep is the most important activity of the Kazak. There are two times of year when life is hard for the Kazak and their herds: the winter and the summer.

In the winter, the Kazak must find some way to protect the sheep from the severe cold and high winds. The people in northern Kazak land move farther north into the Siberian forests for shelter, while the people in the central and southern Kazak land move into valleys in the foothills of the mountain ranges where the trees shelter the sheep from the wind.

By the end of the winter both the Kazak and their animals are hungry. The people have eaten most of the food stored from the summer, and the animals have eaten almost all the grass in the river valleys.

If the warm weather comes late, the animals may go hungry or even starve. Early in the spring, men are sent on horseback to find where the snow is beginning to melt and the grass is

starting to grow. As soon as grass is discovered, every member of the household helps break camp and moves the horses and sheep to the new pastures. (See picture Number 12.)

One of the big problems which faces the Kazaks as they move from winter to spring pastures is the fact that most lambs are born in the early spring. They are still very weak when the Kazak must move from the winter camp. The children often carry the young lambs on the horses when they move in the early spring. As long as the grass is short, the people must keep the animals moving for them to find enough grass to eat.

When the spring rains come and the grass grows long, the sheep and horses get fat and give plenty of milk. The Kazak, in turn, have plenty to eat. Little rain falls after June, and the hot weather begins to dry up the grass. The people who gathered in large groups when the grass was more abundant now must scatter. Each household moves every few days, just as it did in the early spring, in order to find enough grass for its sheep and horses. (See picture Number 13.) This is a very difficult time.

In late September, the rains again fall and the grass becomes abundant. The sheep again grow fat and give much milk. The Kazak women use this milk to make cheese and butter which the people will eat during the winter. The people also have plenty of food in the fall, because this is the only time of year that they have plenty of meat. Since the sheep give milk and grow wool, the Kazak kill only a small portion of their sheep to eat. When they do eat sheep, it is usually the older ones who no longer produce milk or lambs. These older sheep are not likely to live through the hard winter, so they are killed and eaten in the fall. This way the Kazak have fewer sheep to care for and to feed during the hard winter. In the spring more lambs will be born from the younger sheep which remain and the size of the herd will again increase.

During early October, the household begins slowly moving in the direction of its permanent winter camp. They wish to stay away from the winter pastures as long as possible, because the grass in the area will have to last all winter. If a heavy snow falls before the Kazak arrive there, they may have much difficulty reaching the winter pastures and many of the sheep may die. This is a risk that must be taken, however, if there is to be enough grass in the winter camp to feed the sheep all winter. So with the first snows, the Kazak move quickly to their winter pastures. They gather dry grass and bring it into the camp with them to add to the supply of feed for the sheep during the long, hard winter they are facing.

#### Pastoral Nomads

From the above account of the animal migrations of the Kazaks,

it can be seen that if they are to earn their living by raising sheep they must migrate to insure that their animals have good pastures. For this reason, the Kazak are called nomadic. Nomadism is the regular seasonal or cyclical movements of a group to obtain sustenance. There are nomads who live by hunting and gathering, as well as pastoral and even agricultural nomads. Although not all pastoral peoples are nomads, it is quite common for them to be.

## V. HOUSEHOLD

Kazak families, like the families of most pastoral peoples, are patrilineal, with the name, property, and authority being transmitted through the male line from father to son. In another section, the Kazak method of earning a living, primarily by herding horses and sheep, has been described. It would be difficult for one man, wife, and children to care for both herds of horses and sheep. It would be impossible if all the children left home after they were grown. Economic convenience as well as traditional marriage patterns therefore are reflected in the Kazak extended family household. (C-2) The extended family is one consisting of grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, children and grandchildren, in contrast to a nuclear or conjugal family, consisting simply of mother, father, and children. (See picture Number 14.)

### The Kazak Extended Family

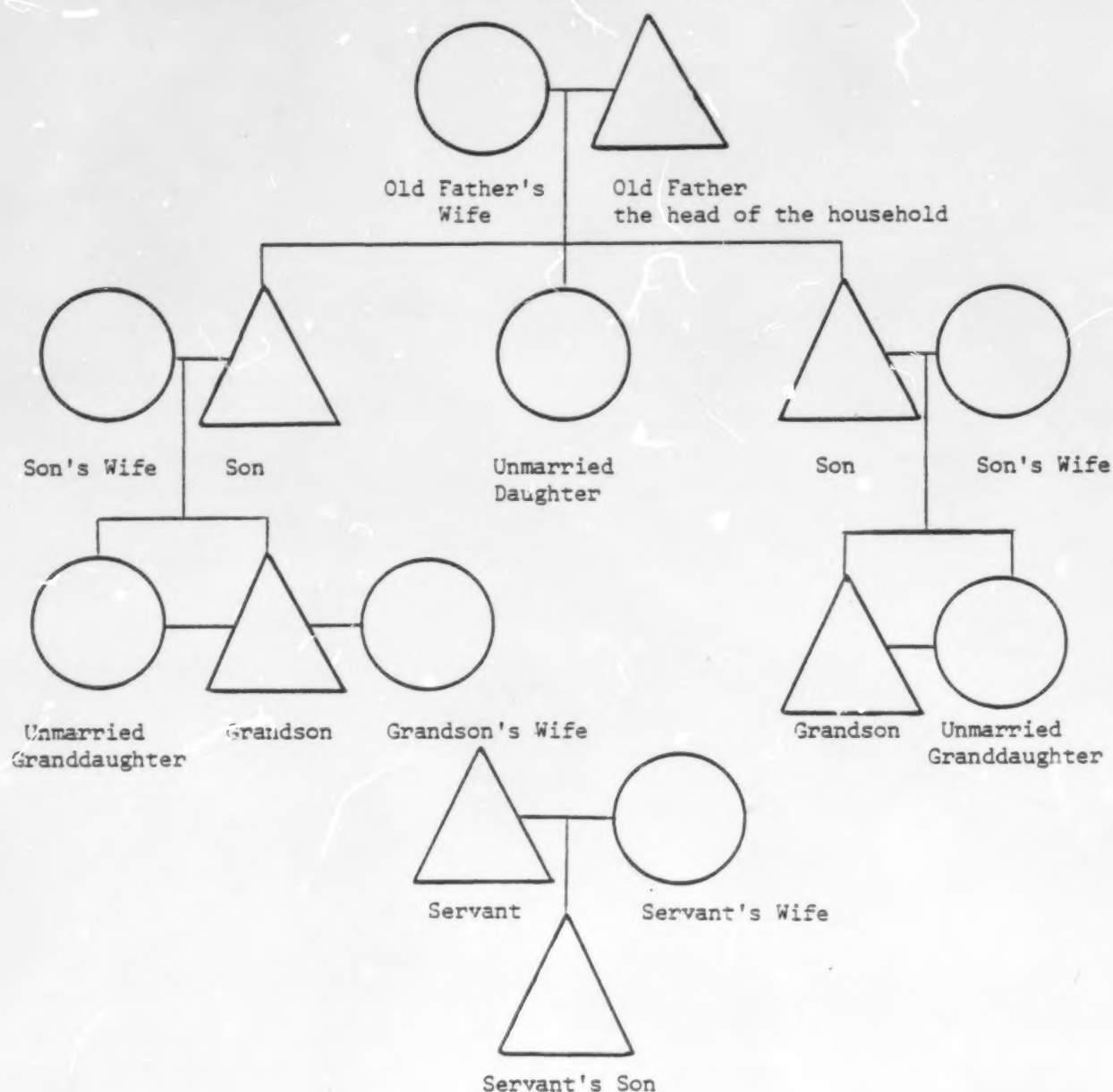
A Kazak family consists of the primary father, called the Old Father, and his wife, unmarried sons and daughters, married sons and their wives, grandchildren, servants and the children of servants. (K-2) When a child is born to a son and his wife, they do not leave to establish a new household, but continue to live in the tent of their father. As the grandchildren grow older, their responsibilities in the household grow according to the sex and age tasks to be performed. (E-3)

Since the Kazak household is organized on patrilineal lines, it is the Old Father who owns the sheep and horses of the household. This property, however, is regarded as a trust for his descendants. He makes the important decisions, such as when the household should move for summer pasturage and when to move into the winter encampment, and directs the work of his sons and their children. In this close knit group, the boys learn men's work from their fathers, the girls, from their mothers. When the girls marry and leave their grandfather's tent, their tasks will be assumed by their brothers' brides.

The richer households have servants who are part of the household and who sleep in the same tent with the family. Usually a serving man will have a wife and family, all of whom are part of the household. Marriage practices among Kazak servants also involve the bride price, which is paid by the Old Father.

Kazak households retain the unity under the Old Father until his death, at which time the inheritance is divided, the family fragmented, and each son, now advanced in years, sets up his own tent, and, in the course of time, becomes an Old Father.

The diagram below outlines the membership of a hypothetical extended family:



### Marriage and the Bride Price

The Kazak, like many other people throughout the world, practice the payment of property by the groom and his kinsmen to the parents of the bride. Known as the bride price or wife purchase, it looks on the surface like the payment of goods to compensate the household for the loss of a valuable worker, but it is also a means of institutionalizing the right and obligations between the groups concerned. The bride price must not be confused with the European tradition of a dowry to go with the bride, in which the female was regarded as a dependent and the accompanying dowry went to the husband as an additional incentive to marry. (See picture Number 15.)

Among the Kazak, as with many other pastoralists, the daughter is regarded as an important worker in the household economy. (E-3) To acquire a wife, and to compensate the family of the bride for the loss of a daughter, a bride price of sheep and horses is paid to the bride's parents. The number of sheep and horses paid, set by the two families, is a status symbol of the families, and the wealthier the families, the larger the bride price. (E-6) Since the son is a dependent in his father's house, the family payment of the bride price is an indirect means of payment for anticipated services until he receives his inheritance. On the filial side of the relationship, the sons, after marriage, continue to live in their father's household and help him with the herds of horses. The new wife comes to live in the boy's father's tent and helps do woman's work. In the extended family, she replaces a daughter who has married and moved to the tent of her husband's father.

### Exogamy and Endogamy in Kazak Marriage Patterns

Exogamy is a sociocultural requirement that approved marriages must take place outside certain units of society. (C-3) Thus a Kazak woman cannot marry a man from the same clan. Since the male heads of each household within a clan are considered directly related to a common ancestor, all members of a clan are considered related. For a woman to marry a member of her clan would be to marry a close blood relative. For this reason, marriages take place between members of different clans.

Endogamy is the custom whereby approved marriages must always take place within the bounds of particular social units. (C-5) Among the Kazak, a member of a wealthy household will not marry a member of any of the poorer households.

## VI. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kazak social organization consists of a kinship or lineage system, in which descent is claimed from a common male ancestor. (K-1) It is a segmentary tribal system which may be conceived as a pyramid with primary, secondary, and tertiary subdivisions. It does not, however, constitute a political hierarchy in which the sub-groups constitute political units under the leadership of a paramount chief. The system forms a pyramid of lineages only, in which the bond is not one of subordination, but of consanguinity. (K-1) The three basic groups, although these designations are somewhat relative, are: Household, clan, and tribe.

### The Household

The patriarchal, extended family, described in the section "Household," constitutes the basic unit of Kazak social organization. (K-1) Several conjugal families comprising this extended family, together with servant families, are all subordinate to the family chief, or Old Father. (K-2) The size and importance of a Kazak household, and its importance in the clan, depend, in part, upon the number of its male offspring.

On the death of the Old Father, it is customary for his direct male descendants to establish separate patriarchal families. The Kazak clan structure, as clan organization elsewhere, changes through this process of death and fission. (K-1)

### The Clan

The Kazak clan is a kinship group, consisting of several households, the heads of which are related. In addition, each clan has its own winter grazing land which is defended from use by other clans. (P-9) No claim is made to summer grazing land, since the amount of grass varies in a given area from year to year. Each clan has its own identifying mark, such as a forked stick, which is branded on the animals owned by households in the clan. The same mark is placed on all the belongings of members of the clan and only people who belong to the clan have a right to use its mark.

In the spring and fall, when grass is relatively plentiful, the tents of a clan may be pitched together. In the summer, when grass is scarce, the households go their separate ways in search of forage. The clan comes together for winter encampment, and, in case of difficulty, the households assist one another.

The clan chief is the patriarch of the largest and richest household in the clan. (P-6) He serves as the clan spokesman in dealing with other clans. (P-2) The authority of the clan chief

is based on the consensus of heads of households, however, and he does not possess the direct authority over other Old Fathers, or family chiefs, which he exercises in his own household.

### The Tribe

The largest unit in Kazak social organization with an appointed leader, is the tribe. The tribe is an extended lineage group comprised of related clans. The chief of the tribe is selected by the chiefs of clans which comprise the tribe; usually he is the chief of the largest and wealthiest clan. (P-9)

The authority of the tribal chief is even more tenuous than that of a clan chief, since it is exercised on the basis of persuasion, personal leadership, and consensus. Furthermore, the clans of a tribe rarely come together, except after the spring rains when grass is sufficiently abundant to support many herds in a small area at a given time. (P-3)

The dispersed nature of pastoral life and a truncated social organization, actually from the extended family upward rather than from the tribe downward, were not conducive to the emergence of a hierarchical government. (P-3) This has been generally true of nomadic pastoralists throughout history. While a tribe has its homeland and is bound together by a lineage system, the concept of citizenship and of a state are invariably lacking.

## VII. RELIGION

The Kazak are Muslims, adherents of the faith called Islam, which encompasses the bulk of the population in the dry lands of Afro-Asia. Minally they are Sunni or orthodox Muslims, but their religious practices, as with most rural people in the Muslim world, are an overlay of Islamic tenets superimposed on and assimilated with earlier aboriginal beliefs. The assimilation of previous religious practices to a new faith, however, is neither peculiar to Islam or to the Kazak. An example in Christian practice is the fixing of the celebration of Christmas to supplant a Roman feast.

Islam is not a religion which emphasizes communal worship in a religious edifice or mosque, although in towns where there are mosques, communal worship is practiced, consisting of the recitation of prayers in the direction of Mecca, readings from the Koran, and on Giumma (Friday) a discourse is often added. There are five daily prayers which an adult Muslim is supposed to recite, facing in the direction of Mecca, the holy city of Islam. (See picture Number 16.) Prayer is thus an individual responsibility, although it may be observed collectively.

Of the five major tenets of Islam--prayer, fasting in the month of Ramadan, the pilgrimage to Mecca, participation in religious wars, and the performance of good works--the Kazak primarily observe only two, prayer and fasting. Nomads are generally held to be fairly lax Muslims, and neither prayer nor fasting is necessarily observed as often as it is prescribed. The Kazak do, however, always say a short prayer or grace before killing an animal for food and before eating a meal. (See picture Number 17.) (R-6) Stretching out their arms and holding their palms upward, they pray "Allah is good; we thank Thee."

The fast of Ramadan coincides with the ninth lunar month of that name, and thus takes place at different seasons of the year. Fasting from sunrise to sunset is enjoined for adults, but there are no restrictions on activity during the night hours.

Two religious practitioners are encountered among the Kazak. The first is an itinerate mullah or religious teacher who reads the Koran, interprets the canon law, and officiates at feasts and ceremonies such as marriage. The mullah, however, is not a priest, and might best be described as the equivalent of a combination lay preacher-lawyer. Islam does not have a priestly hierarchy.

The second type of religious practitioner represents a carry over from the Kazak's aboriginal beliefs. He is a diviner-healer, who is believed to possess magical power to foretell the future

and cure sickness. (R-8) A common application of his skill is to predict the future of a new born son by reading the cracks made in a sheep's shoulder blade when it is held over a fire, a practice analogous to that of palmistry. Belief in the magical power of a sheep's shoulder blade has both ancient as well as wide geographic distribution.

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